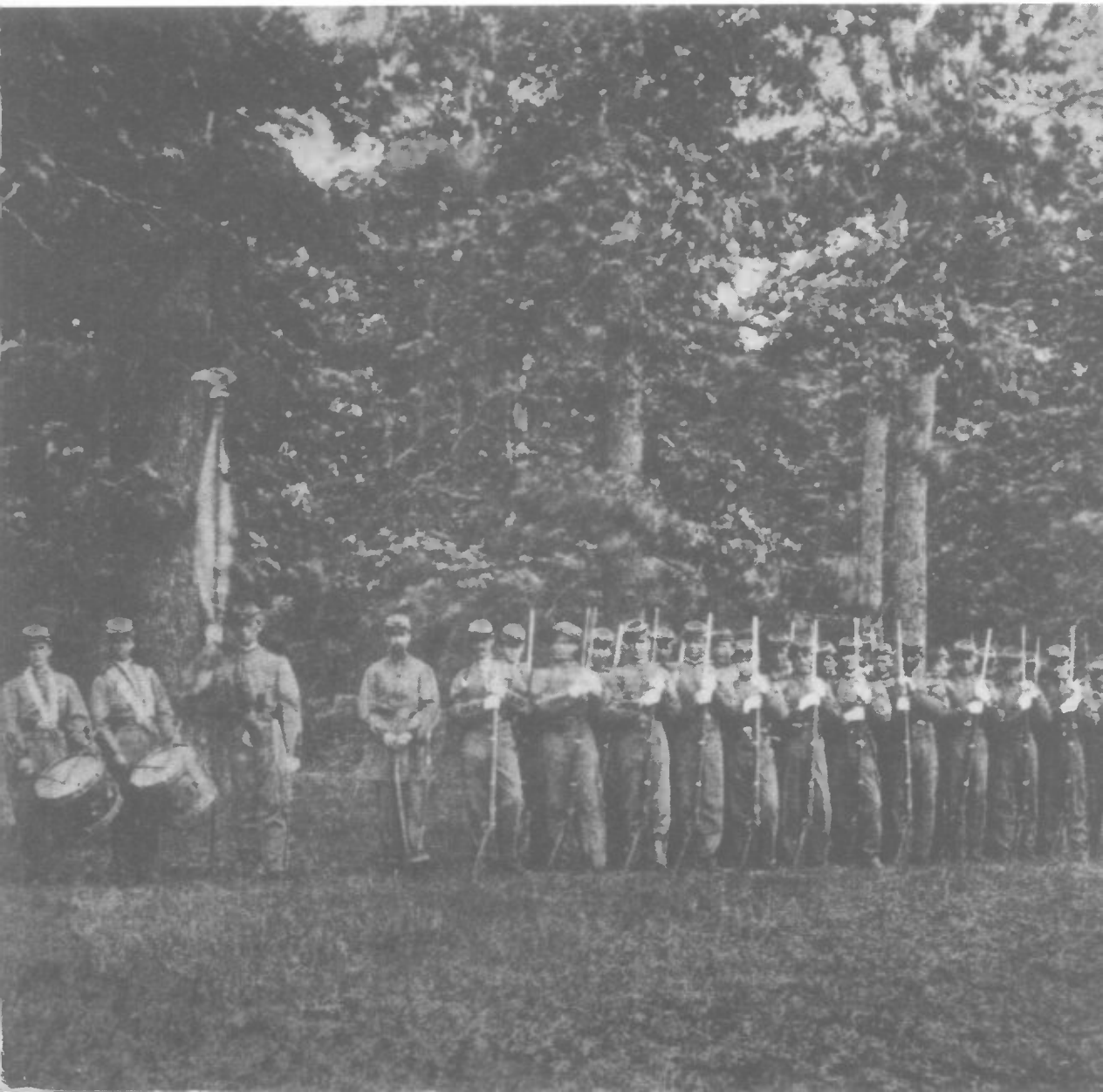
Spring 1998

MARYLAND
Historical Magazine



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Editor's Notebook

Eureka, It's Alive!

Several weeks ago archaeologists digging around the President Street Station in Baltimore unearthed an old piece of railroad track, part of one of the earliest designs known. This news was received with a degree of enthusiasm approaching the ecstasy of finding part of the True Cross. Never mind that one would logically expect to find part of a railroad track beneath a railroad station; a discovery had been made, one which, even though we knew what the particular section of track was supposed to look like, brought us momentarily closer to our past. To reinforce just how close, someone suggested that perhaps, maybe, a car carrying Frederick Douglass or a congressional Lincoln had rolled along on that particular strap of iron.

Such findings are, I suppose, what make archaeologists so happy when in fact the rigors of their work should rightly make them miserable. They delight, for example, in painstakingly rooting through the ground beneath outhouses because that's where people threw things. During the excavations around Babe Ruth's father's tavern prior to the construction of the baseball stadium at Camden Yards, one group became giddy upon finding a pair of dice in what was the privy, along with bottles, broken plates, etc. Historians, who have a professional obligation to be at once skeptical and imaginative, might have speculated that the dice pitched down the toilet were probably loaded and that the broken bottles may well have been cracked over their owner's skull. But the archaeologists happily classified their treasures and moved on to the next ditch. This is not to poke fun at archaeologists, who do painstaking, necessary work, and who frequently dig up things that make us reconsider the past. It is to express wonder at how their work is received.

Whether it is an archaeological dig, a creatively done museum exhibit, a splendidly large reenactment, or a small living history presentation, attempts to connect with the past are invariably announced in the press with such cliches as "history comes alive. . . ." That phrase "history comes alive" is troubling. Certainly in this state we are absolutely surrounded by history—houses, farms, battlefields, documents—yet it seems to matter only as a curiosity. The Maryland Historical Society itself is located partly in the house of Enoch Pratt and partly on the site of the house of George Armistead. Unfortunately, a great many residents do not know where the society is, let alone who those men were.

It was not always thus. Eighty-seven years after the Declaration of Independence was signed, secessionists fired on Fort Sumter. A nation plunging into cataclysm was nevertheless steeped in the recent past. History meant something then. Fire-eaters and moderates alike quoted the speeches and writings of the Revolutionary generation. Men went to war for principles they saw as being directly

linked to earlier patriots and viewed themselves as marching in the footsteps of Washington's Continentals. After that war, too, they remembered. Fifty years later, in 1913, tens of thousands of Civil War veterans gathered at Gettysburg to shake hands across the stone wall at the "High Water Mark." Nobody demeaned them by crowing that their gesture made history "come alive."

History, if dead most of the time, is nevertheless entertaining. Eighty-six years ago this month the *Titanic* went down in the North Atlantic with enormous loss of life. This, a new generation knows, because Leonardo DiCaprio was aboard. Since 1912 the world has witnessed two staggering wars and a large handful of lesser ones, economic catastrophe, purges and genocide of barely imaginable proportions, assassinations, terrorism, and a technological revolution. All have been made into movies, whose forms push us further from the real past. So great is our disconnection that "scholars" can argue that the Holocaust never happened and some people actually believe them, though survivors of that and other twentieth-century events are all around us. We do not listen enough. We are not aware.

Possibly it has all been too much to comprehend. So much has happened in this century that we cannot keep it all straight, can't remember the half of it for that matter. But the Civil War generation had enough to remember: Indian wars and the American and French revolutions, constitution-making, figuring out how the government should work, tripling the size of the country, another war in 1812, creating a banking system, revolutions in industry and transportation, another war with Mexico, that nagging problem of slavery and its compromises—1820, 1850. They weren't disconnected.

Perhaps the problem is that narrative history—our connecting thread—is left to the movies. Matthew Broderick as Robert Gould Shaw; Tom Berenger as Teddy Roosevelt, or was that James Longstreet? One shouldn't be too critical. After all, John Wilkes Booth played historical figures. But one thing's fairly certain. I doubt anyone walked through Harpers Ferry after the raid, picked up one of John Brown's pikes and exclaimed, "Hey, this really makes history come alive!"

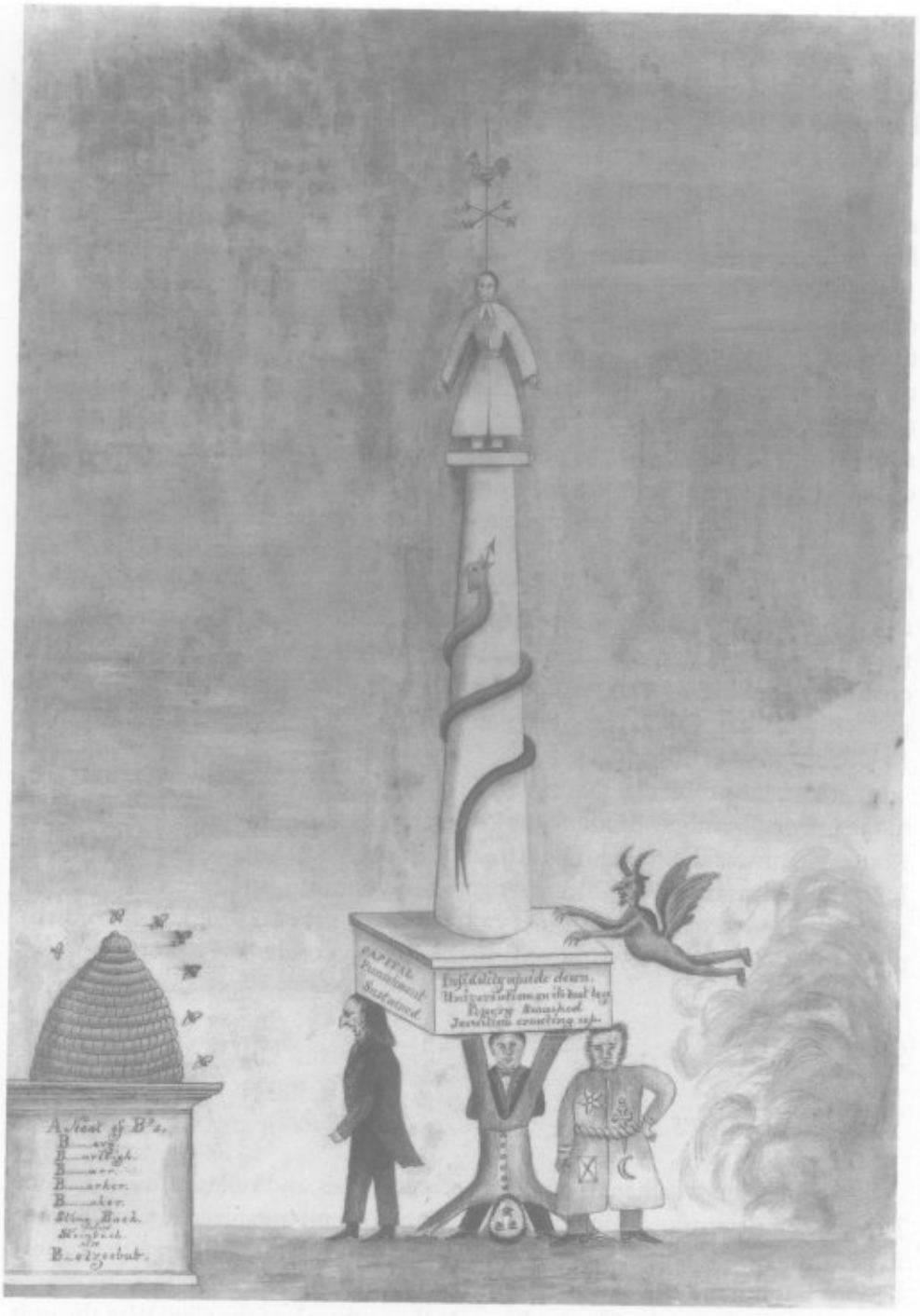
R.I.C.

Cover

The Reed Rifles

As storm clouds gathered before the secession crisis, and violence roiled "Bloody Kansas," this determined-looking Maryland militia unit organized in Chestertown in 1857 under Captain E. F. Perkins. They saw action several times in their short history—subduing rowdy out-of-town tourists passing through their normally quiet community on the Chester River. At the outbreak of the Civil War, the unit disbanded and many of its members joined the Home Guard. (Maryland State Archives.)

P.D.A.



The Know-Nothing political movement swept much of the nation in the 1850s, and Maryland was a major stronghold. Here, an opposition cartoon lambasts the Know-Nothings for unsettling national institutions. The Devil and a serpent participate as Know-Nothing figures rock the Washington Monument in Baltimore. (Maryland Historical Society.)

Violence as a Tool of Party Dominance: Election Riots and the Baltimore Know-Nothings, 1854–1860

FRANK TOWERS

The 1850s witnessed a major realignment of American political parties. Regular competition between Whigs and Democrats gave way to a confused contest among the Democrats and several new parties that culminated in Abraham Lincoln's election as the first Republican president in 1860. The transition to a new party system was accompanied by an upswing in political violence, best exemplified by election riots in America's largest cities.

Most cities experienced the 1850s election riots as brief and not unfamiliar disruptions in an otherwise peaceful process of party transformation.[1] But in New Orleans, and Baltimore—both large slave-state cities—the new American party, also called the Know-Nothings because of their origins as a secret society, seized upon riots as a means to control elections and keep municipal power beyond the party's meteoric 1854–56 rise and fall in most parts of the nation. In the case of Baltimore, the American party ruled from 1854 to 1860. Establishing the role of election riots for Southern Know-Nothing urban politicians raises questions about how their administrations challenged the late antebellum South's planter-dominated state parties and how historians should understand mid-nineteenth-century election returns.

In 1860, Baltimore was America's third largest city, with 212,418 residents. It was also still a Know-Nothing slave-state stronghold. With the aid of Baltimore's votes, Know-Nothings commanded majorities in Maryland's legislature from 1855 to 1859, and elected Thomas Hicks governor for the 1857–61 term. Yet Democrats had survived the cresting of Know-Nothing power. By the end of the decade they had won back most state offices and controlled the state legislature. Their success followed national trends. Maryland's party realignment saw Democrats make gains in slaveholding counties they formerly had contested closely with Whigs but lose ground in cities like Baltimore. In 1859 most rural counties with slaves voted Democratic, western Maryland hedged its bets, and Baltimore remained in the hands of the Know-Nothings. Maryland planters supported the Democrats because they had lost faith in any other party's ability to defend slavery. With rural planters at the helm, Democrats steered their party and state

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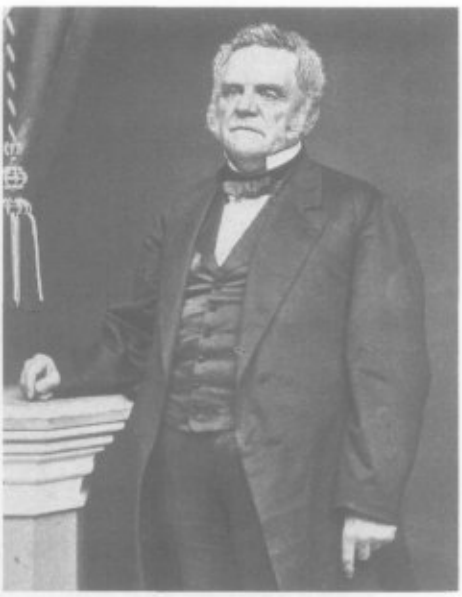
government on a course counter to the interests of Baltimore's urban, industrial society.[2]

This shift naturally weakened the appeal of the party in Baltimore, a Democratic bastion in the 1830s and 1840s. The Whigs' poor showing in the 1852 presidential elections initially benefited Democrats, who won the mayoralty and majorities in both branches of the city council that year. But a growing sentiment against political parties, clearly signaled by the demise of the Whigs, also meant trouble for the Democrats. Making matters worse, class, cultural, and regional issues took an anti-Democratic turn. A marked increase in immigration fueled long-standing anti-Catholic and nativist sentiments. Between 1840 and 1860, 177,000 European immigrants, mostly Germans and Irish Catholics, passed through the port of Baltimore, and in 1860 one in four Baltimoreans had been born in a foreign country. An 1852 debate over publicly funding Catholic schools prompted nativists to attack Catholic influence in the Democratic party. In 1853 white workingmen bolted the Democrats when party leaders urged striking iron workers to accede to employer demands. That the Democratic party was seriously weakened as a result of this discord became evident in the 1853 legislative contest. Democratic candidates for the House of Delegates faltered, losing unexpectedly to an independent slate led by Protestant temperance reformers. The next year the new American party, campaigning on a platform of clean government, immigration reform, and anti-partyism, won control of city government which they held until the Democrat-led City Reform Association regained power in 1860.[3]

Other scholars have analyzed the issues and individuals involved in Southern Know-Nothingism,[4] but more research needs to be done on the relationship between municipal political power and election violence under American party administrations. Exploring this relationship shows that the American party in Baltimore experimented with strategies for party organization and voter mobilization that political machines elaborated on later in the century. Understanding this fledgling brand of machine politics helps explain Know-Nothing persistence in the unlikely terrain of the urban South.

The American party's emphasis on nativism and moral reform was less relevant in the South, where immigrants made up only 3 percent of the region's 1860 population. Recent immigrants to the South tended to gravitate toward the region's few cities, and their absence from the countryside meant that nativists had more difficulty in making immigration reform an issue in a state-wide campaign.[5] Furthermore, the increasing importance of the slavery issue, and the growing belief that the Democratic party was the best defender of slavery, created large majorities that overwhelmed the Americans in most southern states.[6] The North appeared to be more hospitable to the American party, given its larger immigrant population and the absence of pro-slavery strength in a rival party.



Know-Nothings elected Thomas Holliday Hicks governor in 1857, at the height of their power in Maryland. (Maryland Historical Society.)

Even in southern cities like Baltimore, which had few slaves, pro-slavery voters were numerous and could retake control of municipal government under the right conditions, as occurred in 1860 when Democrats not only regained local offices but Southern and State's Rights Democrat John C. Breckinridge won a strong plurality of the presidential vote.[7] Facing powerful rural enemies in control of state legislatures, the South's urban Know-Nothings sought practical ways to gain advantage in local elections.

Beginning in 1856—the first major elections in which Know-Nothings had the advantage of incumbency—the American party thoroughly exploited the material resources of city government to remain in power. They used familiar party-building tools, giving patronage jobs to loyal and active followers and bestowing public works projects on political friends. They also employed a more novel and dangerous strategy of using police and party-affiliated clubs to intimidate Democrats. Conforming to contemporary descriptions of their administration as "the machine," Baltimore Know-Nothings built a disciplined party organization.[8]

To classify Baltimore's municipal government in the middle of the nineteenth century as a political machine is to enter a well-worn debate as to whether machine politics ever existed in the nineteenth century. Recent scholarship challenges assumptions that urban politicians avoided national ideological questions in favor of local boss vs. reformer issues, or that they based their electoral support on lower class voters wooed through patronage and other material ben-

We earnestly call on the people to be on their guard against those insidious wiles of foreign influence against which George Washington forewarned them. We fear the influence of millions of foreign birth residing in our midst, but not coalescing with our citizens; who cherish their foreign sympathies and hostilities, and create in our midst a disturbing element of vast power, which has already been wielded by ambitious politicians to control our elections, and, in some delicate crisis, may one day decide the fate of the Republic.

But we do not propose to pass any law revoking any rights now conferred on naturalized citizens, nor in any manner to diminish their dignity or honor.

We propose to repeal all laws of Congress or of the States conferring on unnaturalized immigrants the right of suffrage.

II. We do not propose to prevent the immigration of industrious and honest people from any country.

We propose to modify the laws regulating the immigration, so as to exclude the outpourings of the poor-houses and jails—the criminals and fugitives from justice—the halt and blind and insane of Europe and China, who are yearly sent by thousands to our shores by foreign governments, to alleviate their burthen at our expense.

efits.[9] In Baltimore, ideologically charged issues related to sectionalism, nativism, and class conflict certainly infused campaigns and influenced voter alignments, and the interests of property holders consumed much of the city council's time. But city officials also strengthened ties to voting blocs by doling out jobs in such classic patronage institutions as the police force. And if patronage formed the positive side of a strategy that distributed city government's tangible benefits to win votes then violent coercion constituted that strategy's negative side. The American party used its resources to demobilize opponents.[10] When Tammany Hall's George Washington Plunkitt crassly described machine politicians in the early 1900s with the phrase "I seen my opportunities and I took 'em," his sentiment was not one that could be applied to slave-state Know-Nothings a half century earlier.[11] Those men carried on ideologically charged politics and sometimes gave up lucrative private careers for public service. When their political survival was threatened they trespassed boundaries of American political ethics that forthrightly cynical boss politicians like Plunkitt would not cross.

Partly because of a sometimes hostile state legislature, Know-Nothing efforts to expand city payrolls in order to employ party regulars did not go far enough to reward all of the disparate groups in Baltimore's urban voting population. From 1855 to 1860, Know-Nothing administrators increased municipal spending by 14 percent a year and added $1.2 million to annual expenditures over the course of five years. That was twice the rate (7 percent) by which municipal spending grew under mostly Democratic regimes from 1830 to 1850.[12] Although half of their budget paid for loans to businesses, especially railroads, Know-Nothings devoted more money to public employment than had their Democratic predecessors. By 1860 the city employed more than a thousand workers in tasks ranging from vaccine physician to street sweeper. The largest addition to city payrolls occurred when Mayor Thomas Swann hired almost three hundred more police officers in 1857, bringing the force to a strength of 398. Despite this growth in government jobs, municipal employees represented only 3 percent of Baltimore voters in 1860.[13] American party politicians did not have enough patronage resources to supplant ideological appeals to voters with material rewards.

With too little to offer in the way of patronage, and facing implacable local enemies backed by powerful friends in the state legislature, Baltimore Know-Nothings turned to coercion at the polls. Intimidation and fraud had been used before the mid-1850s to win elections, but, believing much was at stake, Know-Nothings intensified these practices during their reign.[14] When they combined

Opposite: The American or Know-Nothing Party was founded in nativism and anti-Catholicism. Here, an anti-immigration editorial from the Baltimore American-Democrat, *November 3, 1855.*

forces, naturalized voters—whom Know-Nothing policy precluded from prominent roles in city government—and the sizable number of native-born Baltimoreans loyal to the Democracy outnumbered Know-Nothings. But by forcing Democrats to avoid the polls in fear for their lives, Know-Nothings garnered substantial majorities and made Baltimore their party's stronghold.

In order to manipulate elections through force and fraud, Know-Nothings exploited voting procedures that tried to ensure fair elections by subjecting voters to maximum public scrutiny. Maryland law designated judges of election as the primary guardians of the polls, and empowered them to arrest rioters and monitor fraud. Election judges appointed two clerks who recorded the names of voters on poll books and kept a record of the ward's vote totals. Clerks looked up the names of qualified voters on a list compiled by party activists who checked poll books from recent elections against the residence of the voters. If the voter's name did not appear on the list, judges accepted several kinds of verification of an individual's qualification to vote—residency documents such as naturalization papers, an endorsement from a prominent citizen of the ward, or an oath sworn on the Bible. When the polls closed judges opened the ballot boxes and read each ballot aloud. Clerks recorded the tallies in the poll books and later deposited them at Baltimore's Superior Court.[15] Each party had the right to post a "challenger," who stood beside the voting window and asked voters about their qualifications. If they suspected a fraudulent voter, challengers notified the judges inside the booth. Police officers stood just outside the polling area should their assistance be needed. During the 1850s mayors sometimes appointed "special police" to serve for election day only. Crowds of interested onlookers joined these officials in examining voters as they moved to the ballot box.[16]

Prior to 1860 Baltimoreans cast their ballots at a single polling place in their ward. The mayor and city council determined the location of the polls and could place them far from rival voters or near the headquarters of supportive political clubs. Taverns, inns, meeting rooms, public buildings, free-standing shacks built on vacant lots, and private houses typically housed nineteenth-century polls. Polling booths quartered each ward's election judges, clerks, and the ballot box. The day before the election, party activists constructed polling booths as makeshift shacks, or, if indoors, built a "window" through which voters passed their ballots to the judges. Some voting windows had shutters which judges could close if too many voters approached the window at once. A platform or steps before the window separated election officials and those casting their ballots from the crowd milling about the polls.[17]

Voters handed the judge of election a foot-long ballot, or "ticket," with the party slate printed on it. If a voter objected to a particular candidate, he could write in an alternative choice. These "scratched tickets" proved difficult for illiterates, and parties encouraged voters to cast a straight ticket that party activists

printed and distributed at the polls. From the ticket's distinct color or markings, spectators could easily discern a voter's allegiance.[18]

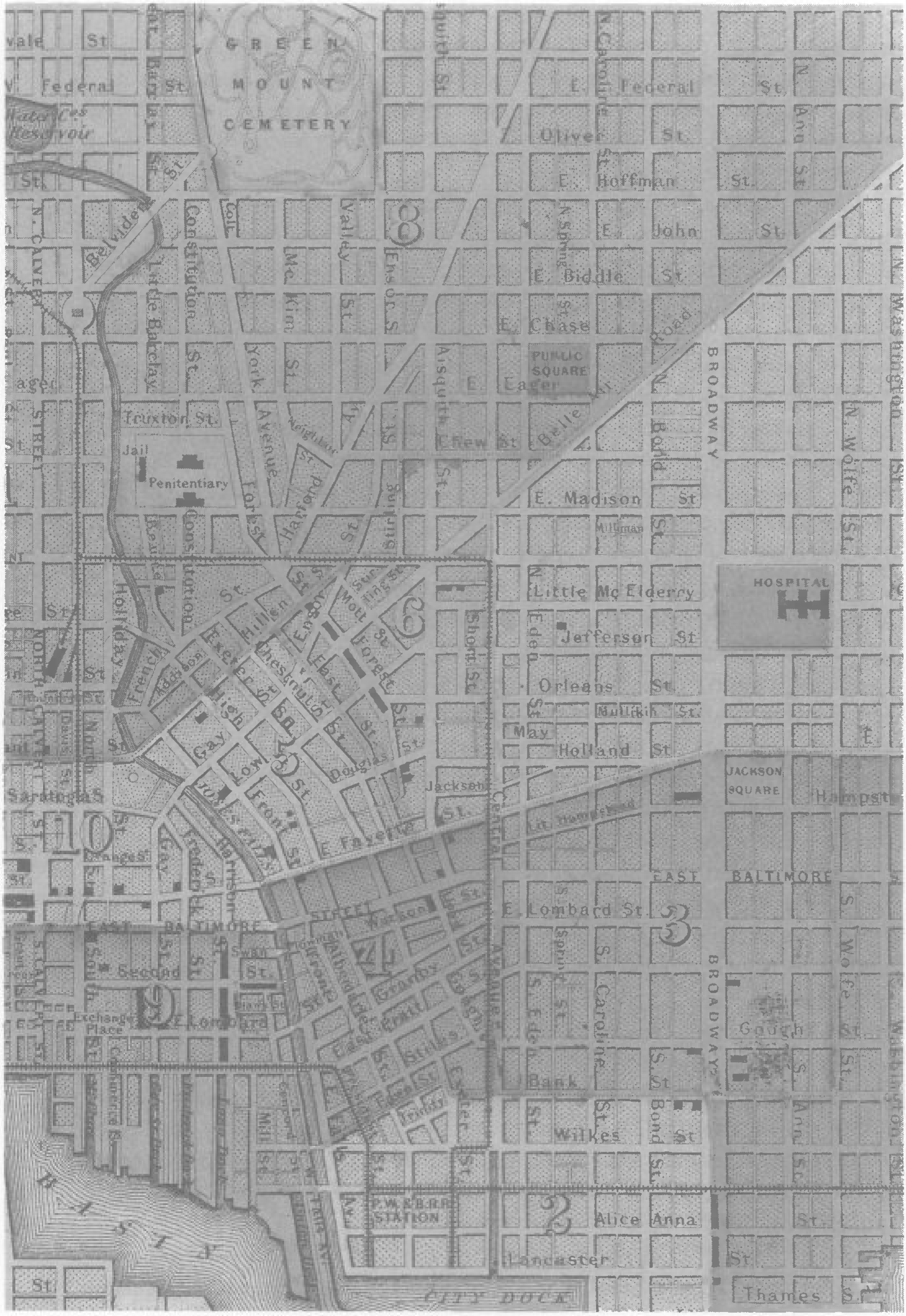
To further ensure fairness, Maryland's election laws criminalized practices that tampered with an individual's right to vote. Multiple voting incurred fines from $10 to $40. Mustering troops in view of a polling place brought a fine of $100 to the company commander. A fine of $250 and six months' imprisonment awaited anyone who "practice[d] force and violence, with intent to influence unduly, or to overawe, interrupt or hinder, any election to be held in virtue of this act." The state imposed its strongest penalty, a $500 fine and six months' imprisonment, for offering money or drinks for votes.[19]

"Reform Man—If You Vote, I'll Be Damned"

Overcoming these safeguards of fair elections in a city that regularly turned out over 25,000 voters across twenty wards required coordinated action among hundreds of rioters and election officials. Strongly attesting to their planned character, most election riots occurred simultaneously at several polling places. In Baltimore's elections on November 4, 1856, voters from six of the city's twenty wards protested to Governor Thomas Ligon that access to the voting window had been blocked. A battle took place in central Baltimore's Sixth Ward when thirty armed men from the predominantly Democratic Eighth Ward followed by two gangs of boys—each dragging a wheeled cannon—marched on the Sixth Ward polls and mounted a swivel cannon to fend off opponents. A newspaperman reported that a Know-Nothing "concourse of equally as wild and infuriated men and youths, armed with muskets and pistols" confronted the Democrats and initiated a battle that lasted from early afternoon until nightfall. In east Baltimore's Second Ward Know-Nothings seized control of the polling booth at 3 P.M., simultaneously with the Sixth Ward conflict. When Democrats tried to force their way past Know-Nothings blocking access to the polling booth, American party supporters called upon reinforcements from the Fourth Ward, and another running gun battle developed. After pitched fighting at the polling place Know-Nothings chased Democrats away. In the west-central Twelfth Ward, rioters shot a candidate for magistrate and his son in a dispute over blocking at the voting window. Violence also interfered with voting in wards sixteen through twenty on the west side. At the end of the day, ten lay dead and estimates of the wounded ranged from fifty to 250. These riots followed a similar city-wide me-

Overleaf: Baltimore City ward map, 1850. In the November 1856 election, Democratic gangs from the Eighth Ward dragged cannon to the Sixth Ward polls to challenge Know-Nothing power. Simultaneous violence in other wards left ten dead and estimates of 250 wounded by the end of the day. (Maryland Historical Society.)

Bloom St.
Pressman St.
Robert St.
Gibson St.
Wilson St.
Bolton St.
W. John St.
Oliver St.
Mc Culloch St.
Grundy
Mosher St.
Garden St.
Laurens St.
Groeer
Fremont St.
Carey St.
Pennsylvania
Mc Mechen St.
Townsend St.
Division St.
Madison St.
Hoffman St.
Preston St.
Camel Alley
Rose St.
Ross St.
Chatsworth St.
Lanvale St.
Avenue
Dolphin St.
Upton St.
Walsh St.
Union St.
Biddle St.
Orchard St.
St. Marys
Republican St.
Adams St.
George St.
Franklin
Oregon St.
Pierce St.
Saratoga
Harmony
Amity St.
Poppleton St.
Fremont
Vine St.
Fayette
Raborg S.
Pearl St.
Arch St.
Greene St.
Paca St.
Pine St.
Schroeder St.
Hollins St.
Boyd St.
King St.
Scott St.
West Lombard St.
W. Pratt
Dover St.
Portland St.
Mc Henry St.
Brunswick St.
Ramsay St.
Columbia
Haw St.
Stockholm
Cross St.
St. Peter St.
Camden
Conway St.
Barre
Lee St.
York St.
Perry St.
Sharp St.
Hanover St.
N. Howard St.
S. Howard St.
N. Eutaw St.
S. Eutaw St.
Garden W. St.
W. Monument St.
Madison St.
Richmond
Read St.
Decker St.
Park St.
Cathedral St.
Washington Pl.
Mt. Vernon Pl.
Hamilton
Clay St.
Lexington
W. Fayette
Baltimore Street
German
W. Townsend
W. Oliver
W. Hoffman
W. Biddle
N. Charles St.
Charles St.
Cathedral
Central R. R.
North Cen. Railroad Depot
College
New St.
Sarah Ann St.
Josephine
Marion St.
Mt. Clare Station
Cathedral Cemetery
Chats Mt.
Smith St.
20
12
13
14
15
16


GREEN MOUNT CEMETERY
Federal St.
E. Federal St.
Oliver St.
E. Hoffman St.
E. John St.
E. Biddle St.
E. Chase
PUBLIC SQUARE
E. Eager
Belle Air Road
Chew St.
E. Madison St.
Little Mc Elderry
Jefferson St.
Orleans St.
Holland St.
HOSPITAL
JACKSON SQUARE
BROADWAY
N. Bond St.
N. Wolfe St.
N. Washington St.
Belvidere St.
Constitution St.
Little Barclay St.
Valley St.
Mc Kim St.
Ensor St.
Asquith St.
York Avenue
Forest St.
Harford
Truxton St.
Jail
Penitentiary
Hillen St.
Exeter St.
Chestnut St.
Gay St.
High St.
Low St.
Front St.
Douglas St.
Jackson St.
E. Fayette
Central Avenue
EAST BALTIMORE
E. Lombard St.
EAST BALTIMORE STREET
Second St.
Exchange Place
S. Caroline St.
S. Eden St.
Spring St.
Bank St.
Wilkes St.
Gough St.
S. Wolfe St.
S. Ann St.
Alice Anna St.
Lancaster St.
Thames St.
P.W.&B.R.R. STATION
CITY DOCK
BASIN
N. CALVERT STREET
Saratoga St.
Holliday St.
French St.
North St.
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2

lee during the October 8 municipal elections, and the pattern of violence at multiple sites also characterized elections in 1857 and 1859. Had Know-Nothings simply wanted to express their anger at immigrants and Democrats they might have attacked symbolic institutions such as churches or meeting halls; by targeting polling booths, rioters showed that they clearly intended to influence the outcome of the election.[20]

Where possible, Know-Nothings situated polling booths near the headquarters of their political clubs and far from the homes of Democratic voters.[21] Operating on favorable terrain, rioters stationed lookouts a hundred yards or so from the polls to distinguish friendly voters from hostile ones. Using code words such as "ink pink," "meet him on the ice," and "I spy," lookouts alerted partisans at the polls to the approach of voters carrying rival party tickets. Thus warned, partisans lined up in front of the voting window, making it necessary for a voter to push his way through them in order to deliver his ballot to the election officials inside. Those few brave voters who tried to break through the line often met with beatings and had their ballots torn up. Word of poll-blocking quickly spread and convinced many potential voters to remain at home.[22]

The practice of "cooping" constituted the most outrageous, and possibly the most overstated, brand of coercion at Baltimore elections. Cooping referred to the practice of kidnapping men days before the election, holding them in safe houses called "coops," and frequently robbing and roughing them up. On election day kidnappers hauled their prisoners to several polling places and forced them to vote repeatedly for their captors' party.[23] Accounts of cooping should be regarded with some skepticism, as most were presented by Democratic partisans seeking to discredit Know-Nothings. Nevertheless, contested election testimony from the November 2, 1859, contest for Maryland's House of Delegates illustrates that when it took place cooping required coordinated action by partisan gangs and election officials.[24]

Political kidnappers preyed upon the vulnerable, particularly drunks and immigrants with limited knowledge of English. John Kitler and Frederick Teufel, naturalized German immigrants, went to the Court of Common Pleas the day before the November 2, 1859, election to apply for "second papers" or corroboration from the city of their qualifications to vote. Kitler and Teufel lacked the two-dollar fee for processing their papers but took the word of a court employee that the money would be provided at a Holliday Street tavern run by Know-Nothing rowdy Erasmus Levy. Upon arriving at Levy's tavern, Kitler and Teufel followed the bartender's instruction to come behind the bar for their money, whereupon a gang of men forced them into Levy's cellar and held them there until election day. Located three houses from the Sixth Ward's polls, Levy's tavern functioned as a headquarters for election-day coercion. The house had three floors, each divided into two rooms, and an underground tunnel to a neighbor-

ing building that served as an escape route. The rooms above and below Levy's tavern, and those of the adjoining house held coops and weapons. Along with municipal employees at the city courts, police and state tobacco warehouse workers assisted partisan orchestrators in abusing the likes of Kitler and Teufel.[25]

Jacob Ritzuis' story of being forced to vote sixteen times in the same 1859 election provided a memorable first-hand account of what could befall the unwary. He stated that at 9 A.M. on election day:

> we were brought out [of the coop house] by three and fours, and had tickets put into our hands. . . . Three others and myself were . . . led by the rowdies holding us by the arm, up to the window of the second ward polls, and voted. We four were then put into a carriage and driven around through the town . . . to various polls and we were voted five or six times; we were then driven to the Holliday street polls, voted there, and then shut up in the coop there next to the polls, in the cellar. We were then brought up into a room, and ordered by the captain of the coop to change clothes with some seven or eight other cooped individuals. . . . We were then voted again at these polls, and we were then led on [foot] to Baltimore street, where an omnibus awaited us, and we were packed in it till it was full, and driven down to the coop house at the second ward again; [when we] arrived there we voted again . . . and then we were driven around in the omnibus to various polls and voted some six times.

Ritzuis finally escaped his captors during a shooting incident at the Sixth Ward polls. His ordeal shows that Levy's cooping operation coordinated its efforts with a Second Ward coop house. To work effectively, cooping needed a hierarchy of "captains," guards, and drivers, and the cooperation of election judges who accepted cooped ballots. Democrats' determination to undo the results of the 1859 elections likely inflated the figures presented in the contested election testimony. If one combines their testimony, witnesses alleged that Know-Nothings cooped approximately 220 men at the November 2, 1859, elections and forced them to cast more than a thousand American party ballots.[26]

The muscle for most Baltimore election riots came from gangs, locally known as clubs, with lurid names like the Blood Tubs, Butt Enders, Plug Uglies, Rip Raps, and Tigers. Political clubs predated the Know-Nothings, but as with organized violence the American party invigorated these organizations with patronage and funding, recognition in campaigns, and inclusion of club members in the lower levels of the party bureaucracy. Baltimore clubs generally ranged from 50 to 150 members from a given neighborhood, and at least seven hundred men belonged to more than forty different political clubs in the 1850s. Clubs allied

themselves with political parties but remained outside of their formal structure and control. Based on data for 149 pro-Know-Nothing club members found in court records, newspapers, contested election testimony, and personal correspondence, two-thirds worked for wages and most had been born in Maryland in the 1830s.[27]

Club membership overlapped with that of city police, and police aided the clubs in carrying out election violence to the extent that Democrats frequently accused police of acting as another political club in the service of the American party. Police made up 9 percent of a list of 164 identifiable rioters in elections from 1855 to 1859.[28] In 1857 a police officer led a group of young men from the Little Fellows, Ashland, and Pioneer clubs in taking control of the Sixth Ward's voting window. Defeated congressional candidate William Pinckney Whyte alleged that police raided militia armories prior to the election and armed club members. A witness to violence at the 1859 elections testified that, "the police appeared to head the rowdies openly" and alleged that officers blocked Democrats' access to the Fifth Ward polling booth. More frequently police simply did nothing while others attacked opposing voters. At the 1857 congressional elections police claimed they had no authority to make arrests. In the Tenth Ward, officers arrested men wounded by Know-Nothing attackers and abetted the rioters' goal of clearing Democrats from the polls. City-wide election violence could not have succeeded without police complicity.[29]

Know-Nothing party leaders and city officials hired several club members and election rioters as police officers. Of 149 pro-Know-Nothing political club members, 18 percent worked as police officers and 41 percent received some form of patronage employment.[30] Looking at a single club, south Baltimore's Tiger gang, 23 percent of the forty-eight members for whom occupations could be identified held patronage jobs, and seven were policemen.[31] In 1857, twenty American party notables, including a Superior Court judge, the state lottery commissioner, and a future member of the state legislature, recommended November 4, 1856 election rioter David Hanford for a job on the police force. They explained to Mayor Swann that, "at the recent Election he received two balls in his right arm while defending the 6th ward polls which will render him unfit to follow his trade for some length of time. The appointment of Mr. Hanford will give general satisfaction to the Members of the American party."[32] Similarly, William H. Barker, secretary of the Eleventh Ward's Little Fellows club, won an appointment as lieutenant on Mayor Swann's expanded police force in 1857. Barker's supporters emphasized his service to the American party, which included "a wound in his arm secured at the Presidential Election in 1856."

Further illustrating the coordinated character of election riots, some judges of election participated in vote fraud and assisted rioters. Charges leveled against election officials ranged from failing to exercise authority when mob violence

broke out to actually participating in the riots.[33] Judges came from the ranks of loyal party activists and from 1852 until 1860 were appointed by the mayor. Judicial appointments were made in a partisan spirit; only nineteen of 461 elections officials serving from 1853 until 1861 worked under both Know-Nothing and Democratic administrations. Nearly a quarter of judges sampled held positions in federal, state, or city government, and thirty-five of the 461 were implicated in election fraud and coercion. Although that number was relatively small, partisan judges altered ballot counts in key wards and contributed to lopsided majorities for their party.[34]

Some Know-Nothing political club members served as election officials. J. R. Codet, a dance instructor by trade and president of the Second Ward's Rough Skins, worked as judge of election from 1855 to 1859.[35] Democrats claimed that Codet and other American party judges blocked naturalized citizens from voting in the November 4, 1857, congressional election. Municipal authorities dominated by the American party that year located the Second Ward polls opposite Rough Skin club headquarters, and armed club members stationed themselves at the polls.[36] A victim of Second Ward rioters two years later, German cooper William Mauer, testified that while at his place of business:

> five or six men came up to me and knocked me down, and then put a ticket in my hand to vote it; I wouldn't; then they drawed my clothes down and pulled me like a dead dog along; my neighbor Charles Beckert came up to help me, and one of them said "Shoot him! Shoot him!" and after they shooted, he falled; and he is dead and buried.

Mauer's Rough Skin attackers brought him before the voting window where Judge Codet told him "never mind [naturalization papers], I want your vote."[37] In making club leaders like Codet election judges, Know-Nothings opened the office designed to guard against corrupt practices to the most coercive groups involved in city politics.

American party politicians lauded political clubs that carried out these attacks. Most Know-Nothing mass meetings included club contingents, and party officeholders such as U.S. Senator Anthony Kennedy and Congressman Henry Winter Davis attended rallies staged by clubs. State Lottery Commissioner Daniel McPhail lauded the Tiger club for its actions at the November 1856 election riots. In thanking the Tigers for an American flag they had given to him, McPhail praised their fighting spirit:

> Verily was the last election day a day of battle, and the slain of the native born were strewn around the polls as they fell in defense of their birthright against the Foreign party attack. If this should again

> become necessary, why I have only to say that this banner will not be dishonored, neither shall it trail in the dust, for there shall be "stout hearts, firm purposes, and strong arms" to rally for its defense.

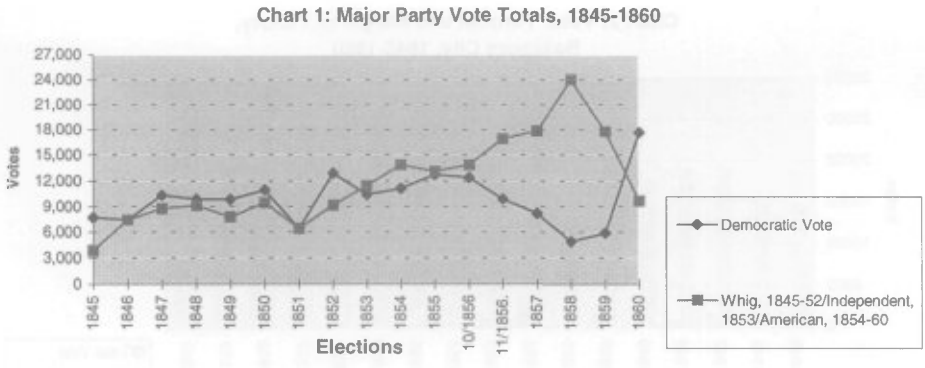
McPhail encouraged the Tigers to riot again should opponents of the Know-Nothings threaten the party's survival.[38]

The most notorious party exhortation of violence occurred a week prior to the November 2, 1859, contest. Know-Nothings rallied at Monument Square to hear Congressman Davis address them beneath a banner depicting a rowdy bashing a reformer's head and the slogan, "Reform movement—Reform Man, If you vote, I'll be damned." Blacksmiths operating a forge near the podium produced shoemaker's awls and distributed them to the crowd. Democrats alleged that rioters used the awls as painful but not homicidal election-day weapons. The Blood Tubs even beat Democratic congressional candidate William P. Preston days prior to the election. On election day clubs and police again suppressed the Democratic vote. The worst violence of the day occurred at the south side Fifteenth Ward polls where the Tiger club killed Adam Kyle Jr. and wounded his brother as they tried to distribute reform party ballots.[39]

A Game of Numbers

Taken together, riots that broke simultaneously across a large city, cooping, election fraud by city employees and election officials, and party leaders' encouragement of violence indicate that the American party used coercion to win elections. Yet despite evidence of the planned character of Baltimore's election riots, scholars of Civil War–era politics discount the significance of political violence in influencing voting outcomes. Jean H. Baker asserts that "election riots reflected inadequate voting procedures more than either party's evil intentions." Arguing that fraud affected only 5 percent of Baltimore's vote in 1856 and 1857, two especially bloody political years, Baker views contemporary lamentations of political violence as Democratic propaganda. Baker and political historian Joel Silbey acknowledge coercion's presence in nineteenth-century politics, but they downplay its impact on elections and voters' understanding of the political system.[40]

Undoubtedly, legally qualified voters freely cast most of the ballots in mid-1850s Baltimore elections, but organized election violence influenced the turnout in key wards, and transformed a narrow Know-Nothing majority into a broad one. Patterns are evident in election returns from 1845, when Baltimore adopted a system of twenty wards, to 1860, the year Know-Nothings fell from power.[41] The bloody election riots of 1856 coincided with a dramatic drop in the Democratic vote and with new voting patterns in all but the most closely contested wards.



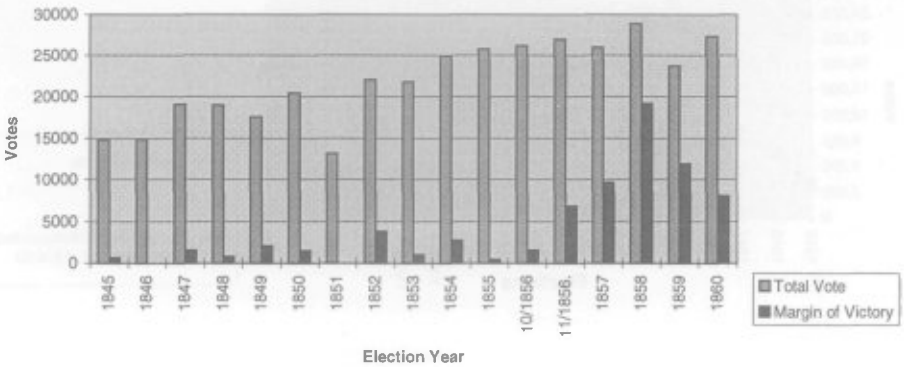
Changes in voting patterns can be measured by analyzing total votes and victory margins, or the number and percentage of votes in the winner's total over and above the loser's total. For example, from 1845 to October 1856, Democrats won a majority of elections, and in most races victory margins were 10 percent or less. But beginning with the 1856 presidential election, Know-Nothings won every contest with landslide victory margins of 25 percent in 1856 and more than 33 percent in the ensuing elections until their 1860 defeat. This surge in the margin of victory did not occur with simultaneous growth in total voter turnout. Instead, Know-Nothings engineered a decisive Baltimore majority by suppressing the Democratic vote and adding new supporters and/or fraudulent ballots to their totals. (See Charts 1 and 2.)[42]

These city-wide voting patterns corresponded with an alteration of the ward-level margin of victory. From 1845 to October 1856 more wards returned closely contested victory margins of 10 percent or less than yielded landslide margins of 33 percent or more. From November 1856 to 1860, a majority of wards turned in landslide majorities, usually for the Know-Nothings, and closely contested wards almost disappeared from election returns. (See Chart 3.)

Election violence offers the most persuasive explanation for the sudden and dramatic shift in voting patterns. After the election riots of 1856, Democrats, fearing physical injury, withdrew from the field and made a case to the state legislature and to Congress that Baltimore's election results should be invalidated. Democrats' reluctance to vote complimented violence by American partisans, thereby increasing Know-Nothing victory margins between 1857 and 1859.

Another explanation for the shift in voting patterns might emphasize a voluntary switch in voters' allegiances based on the appeal of Know-Nothing campaigners. Such a change in voter preference would have to account for the wholesale transformation of the electorate in the short month between the October

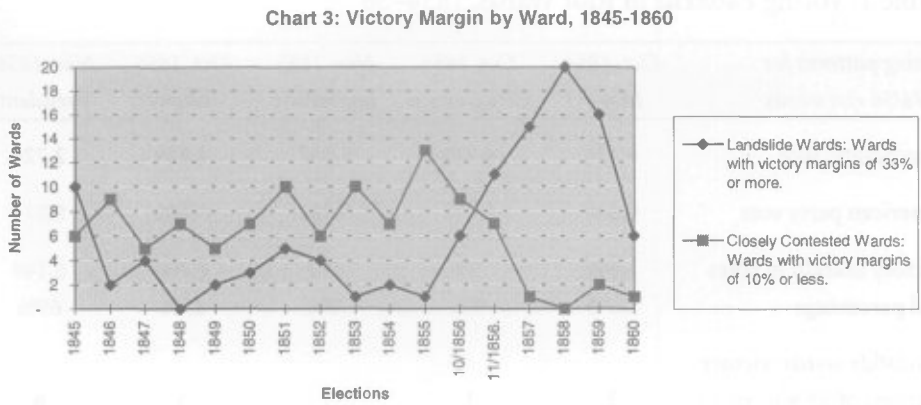
Chart 2: Voter Turnout and Margin of Victory, Baltimore City, 1845-1860



1856 municipal contest and the November presidential race. Results outside Baltimore cast doubt on the popularity of American party presidential nominee Millard Fillmore as the cause of the November surge. Fillmore's 6,808-vote Baltimore majority compensated for his loss to Democrat James Buchanan by 5,179 votes elsewhere and made Maryland the only state the American party won in 1856. Buchanan would have taken Maryland had Baltimoreans given Fillmore the narrower victory margin that Swann received a month earlier. In the South as a region, Fillmore polled ahead of Whig Winfield Scott's 1852 showing but still lost most states by a two-to-one margin, and election riots similar to Baltimore's tainted one of his two other major urban victories. In fact, the 1856 campaign crippled the American party in both sections because it divided over the issue of slavery's expansion at its national convention.

Swann's smaller October margin also might have reflected his weak appeal to what had become a predominantly Know-Nothing electorate. But if Swann failed to bring Know-Nothings to the polls in 1856 in the same numbers as Fillmore, that failure was short-lived. By 1858 he had found the formula for landslide victory and won re-election by a margin twice that of Fillmore's. It was probably not a matter of Know-Nothing appeal. The American party had held power for two years by 1856. If the popularity of their policies explains their explosive growth in support from 1856 to 1858, then those same policies apparently failed to expand on narrow margins of victory from 1854 to October 1856. Justifying the surge in Know-Nothing votes between October and November 1856 on the basis of the party's rhetorical and administrative appeal also overlooks the coincidence of electoral change with widespread coercion.[43]

Systematic coercion and fraud offer a more compelling explanation for the



transformation in voting patterns than does an argument for a rapid climb in American party support that began in October 1856, lasted for three years, and dissipated just as quickly in 1860. Closer analysis of the October and November 1856 elections shows how coercion influenced vote totals in key wards. Between October and November the number of closely contested wards dropped from nine to seven and voting districts returning a two-thirds margin of victory rose from six to eleven. In the 1854 and 1856 mayoral elections, Democrats and Know-Nothings won an equal number of landslide wards, but in November 1856 nine out of eleven landslide wards went to the American party. Although violence took on a generalized character on November 4, reports of organized coercion and window blocking came from wards two, four, six, and eight in central and east Baltimore and wards sixteen through twenty, all on the west side.[44] In the Eighth Ward, Democrats controlled the polls and rioters killed an American party voter. The Eighth Ward had been a Democratic stronghold since the 1840s and remained so after coercion became the rule at elections. Despite attempts by American party police to control the ward at elections, determined reactions by Democrats, including the murder of a policeman in 1857, convinced Know-Nothing partisans to leave the Eighth Ward alone.[45] Voting patterns in the eight wards where Know-Nothing coercion influenced the November vote in 1856 show that, although the American party consistently won those wards beginning with the party's debut at the 1854 mayoral contest, their victory margin never exceeded 1,800 votes or 30 percent prior to the 1856 presidential contest. (See Table 1.)

A year before the 1856 riots, Democratic city council candidates narrowly lost these wards by only fifty-nine votes. From 1854 to October 1856, most of these wards gave the winning party a majority of 10 percent or less. In the 1856 presidential election six of the same wards gave the American party landslide

Table 1: Voting Patterns in Riot Wards, 1854–56

Voting patterns for 11/4/56 riot wards	*Oct. 1854 Mayor*	*Oct. 1855 City Council*	*Nov. 1855 Legislature*	*Oct. 1856 Mayor*	*Nov. 1856 President*
Democratic vote	4,631	4,942	5,547	4,849	2,729
American party vote	6,280	5,001	6,059	6,609	8,877
Victory margin in votes	1,649	59	512	1,760	6,148
and percentage	26%	1%	8%	27%	69%
Landslide wards: victory margins of 33% or more	2	1	1	3	6
Closely contested wards: victory margins under 11%	2	6	5	3	1

Note: Wards 2, 4, 6, 16–20. Results from the 8th ward excluded.
Source: Baltimore American, *October 12, 1854, November 5, 1856;* American Democrat, *November 9, 1855;* Baltimore Sun, *November 5, 1856;* Daily Baltimore Republican, *November 5, 1856.*

majorities greater than 33 percent. The 4,148-vote growth in the Know-Nothing victory margin from these eight wards between October and November 1856 accounted for 83 percent of their gains city-wide between the two elections. This dramatic increase in a party's victory margin between the October municipal elections and November federal elections did not occur in 1848, 1852, or 1860. In the two earlier years, victory margins changed by less than a thousand votes, and in the four-way race of 1860, which included two new parties, the leading candidate, John C. Breckinridge, won less than half the city's vote.[46] November 4, 1856, marked the beginning of systematic American party coercion at elections.

Further proof that election violence explains these fluctuations in voter turnout comes from an 1858–59 voter list and poll books filed at a special election for the House of Delegates held on April 24, 1861. No poll books exist from the 1850s, and the only voter list to survive comes from the Eleventh Ward for the years 1858–59. The 1,441 names in that document signify Eleventh Ward residents who voted at a recent election and were known to the partisan compilers of these "block books" as legal residents of the ward.[47] The American party carried the Eleventh Ward in two of three elections held in 1858 and 1859, and the list probably contains mostly Know-Nothing voters. Although Democrats cried foul at these elections and many avoided the polls in fear of violence, reports from the Eleventh Ward stated that election judges succeeded in minimizing violence and allowed Democrat/Reform voters to freely cast their ballots. The

Table 2: Voter Turnover, 1858–59 and April 24, 1861

11th Ward Voters, April 24, 1861	*Voters*	*Percent of 1861 Voters*
Appeared on 1858–59 list of voters	242	38.3
Absent from 1858–59 list	373	59.0
Not Applicable	17	2.7

N=632

Source: List of Voters in the 11th Ward, 1858; Poll Book *[1861]. Maryland Historical Society.*

presence of coercion cast doubts on any set of returns and wealthy families were heavily represented in the Eleventh Ward's Mount Vernon neighborhood, making its voter list at best an approximation of voting patterns elsewhere in the city. All the voters named in the poll book from April 24, 1861, cast ballots for the pro-secession State's and Southern Rights ticket, the only slate of candidates fielded in that contest. These poll books can be used as a rough gauge of Democratic membership, because most former Know-Nothings backed the cause of the Union and because State's and Southern Rights candidates had previously been notable in the Democratic party and the late 1850s Reform movement.[48]

Few of the men on the 1858–59 list voted in 1861. Less than half the number of the Eleventh Ward voters listed in 1858 and 1859 turned out to vote on April 24, 1861, and almost two-thirds of the 1861 voters did not appear on the list compiled two years earlier.[49] (See Table 2.)

Although decisive evidence is lacking, plausible speculation suggests that the new voters at the April 24, 1861, election had been opponents of the American party who refused to vote in the late 1850s. An influx of secessionists after 1859 seems unlikely given that more than three-fourths of a sample of 141 Eleventh Ward voters from the 1861 poll book lived there in 1858. In Baltimore, the secession crisis aligned former Know-Nothings with the cause of the Union and their reformer opponents with secession. Southern sympathizers and ex-Know-Nothings battled in city streets and the Democrat/Reform police force aided secessionist militia units like the Maryland Guard in disarming and arresting Unionists who, one militia volunteer believed, "were the same lot of Roughs whose killing of Adam Kyle was the reason for the formation of the Maryland Guard." But not all of the Democrats voting in the Eleventh Ward in the late 1850s turned out to vote for secessionists in 1861. The ward's Democratic vote averaged in the mid-500s in the 1850s. Some Democrats stayed home on April 24, 1861, even though they probably cast most of their district's 641 ballots for Breckinridge on November 6, 1860. In 1861 some probably did not vote because they felt that the outcome had been predetermined by the absence of opposition to the State's and Southern Rights ticket, and others possibly did not want to

affirm the ticket's secession mission. The 373 men who voted in 1861 but not in 1858 or 1859 felt strongly enough about secession to turn out, and likely had avoided the polls in the late 1850s out of fear for their own safety. Although these scenarios remain to be fully documented, the discrepancy between 1858–59 and 1861 shows that dramatic fluctuations in the makeup of the electorate accompanied the fall of the American party in 1860.[50]

The November 1856 election riots solidified Know-Nothing majorities in several ways. The terror of that campaign convinced many Democrats to refrain from voting until their safety could be guaranteed. The election also dealt a disabling blow to Democratic political clubs that had offset Know-Nothing terror in the October 1856 riots. On November 4, 1856, Sixth Ward Know-Nothings captured and destroyed the headquarters of the New Market Fire Company, which doubled as a Democratic gang. Police abetted such conquests by seizing arms from Democratic gangs and immigrant militia companies and arresting their leaders.[51] Control of the mayor's office and city council enabled the party to further stack the police department with partisans who aided political clubs at election riots. With election violence in place as a system for suppressing the opposition vote, Know-Nothings rolled out huge majorities in Baltimore, keeping the party alive at the state level even as its popularity faded in rural districts.

The end of American party municipal rule came through a change in the balance of power on city streets. The Democratic General Assembly of 1859 took control of the city police department and purged it of Know-Nothing partisans. They also removed Know-Nothings from the criminal court bench. During the summer of 1860, Democrats arrested American party club leaders for their crimes at past election riots and convicted them at well-publicized trials. At the fall 1860 elections, Democrats came to the polls in droves under the protection of a friendly police force, and they unseated the American party administration.[52]

Occurring in the middle of the party realignment of the 1850s, the rise of Know-Nothing municipal machines in the urban South outraged rural conservatives already suspicious of cities such as Baltimore that had few slaves and thousands of free wage laborers. Incidents like the 1859 election murder of Adam Kyle Jr., who happened to be the son of a prominent slave-owning merchant and Democrat, vividly challenged the party's power in the urban South. Reform campaigns to regain political control of slave-state city governments combined with regional calls for separation from the Union as the best protection for slavery and the political power of slave owners. Many of the leaders in the 1860 Reform movement went on to fight for the Confederacy or sat out the Civil War in federal prisons having been arrested for their actions in the April secession crisis. For their part, Know-Nothings like Henry Winter Davis and Thomas Swann, albeit often in conflict, led the wartime Union movement, and club members

Mayor Thomas Swann's 1859 landslide Know-Nothing victory prompted his political opponents to organize a reform campaign. (Maryland Historical Society.)

volunteered for service in federal units. These stands on sectional issues traced their origins in part to the bitter conflicts of the Know-Nothing era when control of municipal politics had been a life-and-death matter.[53]

In addition to informing the partisan divisions of the Civil War era, Baltimore's election violence also raises questions for political historians about the meaning of voting statistics. Charges of Know-Nothing election fraud date back to the 1850s, as do arguments for the inaccuracy of those election returns as a measurement of voters' political preferences. Jean Baker worked extensively in the 1970s to extricate Maryland's Civil War political history from a debate that retained much of the partisan rhetoric of the prior century. Lurking behind that earlier debate was the contention that without coercion from American party roughs and Union soldiers Marylanders would have taken the state into the Confederacy. Baker's work and that of others has conclusively proven that most Marylanders and especially Baltimoreans supported the Union over the Confederacy, and this study does not seek to reopen that question.[54]

Baltimore's 1850s elections should give pause to historians who use vote totals to measure the electorate's support for party platforms and candidates. Under the best circumstances, election returns reflected the political choices of the approximately one-sixth of Baltimoreans who met the voting requirements of being a white, male, U.S. citizen, over age twenty-one, and residing within the same voting district for six months to two years. Factoring in the ways that political violence constrained individual freedom of choice makes election totals

something other than an unambiguous record of what the people wanted from government. Material political resources such as police, gangs, and control of money and arms to support them routinely influenced these elections. For studies of nineteenth-century politics, practical aspects of getting to the polls and controlling access to the ballot box need as much attention as do more conventional categories of analysis such as party ideology and voters' social background. That coercion mattered before and after the American party's reign is suggested by election rioting prior to 1856, largely by Democrats, and by the dramatic drop in vote totals during Baltimore's wartime occupation by federal troops who stationed themselves at polling places to not only ensure an orderly election, but also to arrest suspected Confederate soldiers returning to vote out supporters of the Lincoln administration.

Similar patterns of violence elsewhere indicate that Baltimore's experience bears on the larger political history of the nation. Baltimore's history shows that contentious battles over public life could not be temporarily pushed aside when a voter approached the polling booth. Instead, those conflicts intruded into the voting process and interfered with an American ideal that the vote should reflect an individual's rational and private decision.[55]

NOTES

1. For some examples of these riots, see Mary P. Ryan, *Civic Wars: Democracy and Public Life in the American City during the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 139–57; Paul A. Gilje, *Rioting in America* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996), 67; William A. Baughin, "Bullets and Ballots: The Election Day Riots of 1855," *Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio Bulletin,* 21 (October 1963): 267–72, 269–70; Amy Bridges, *A City in the Republic: Antebellum New York and the Origin of Machine Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 76–77; Michael Feldberg, "Urbanization as a Cause of Violence: Philadelphia as a Test Case," in Allen F. Davis and Mark H. Haller, eds., *The Peoples of Philadelphia: A History of Ethnic Groups and Lower Class Life, 1790–1840* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1973), 53–69, 56–57; John C. Schneider, "Riot and Reaction in St. Louis, 1854–56," *Missouri Historical Review,* 68 (January 1974): 171–84; James Neal Primm, *Lion of the Valley: Saint Louis, Missouri,* 2nd ed. (Boulder, Co.: Prouett, 1990), 177; Charles E. Deusner, "The Know-Nothing Riots in Louisville," *Register of the Kentucky Historical Society,* 61 (April 1963): 122–47; Emmett V. Mittleberger, "The Aftermath of Louisville's Bloody Monday Election Riot of 1855," *The Filson Club Historical Quarterly,* 66 (April 1992): 197–219; Leon C. Soule, *The Know-Nothing Party in New Orleans: A Reappraisal* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1961), 56; Kenneth M. Stampp, *America in 1857: A Nation on the Brink* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 208.

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2. Jean H. Baker, *The Politics of Continuity: Maryland Political Parties from 1858 to 1870* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973), 1–5, see p. 28 for the pro-slavery policies of Maryland Democrats in 1860; Baker, *Ambivalent Americans: The Know-Nothing Party in Maryland* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977), 2; Richard R. Duncan, "The Era of the Civil War," in Richard Walsh and William Lloyd Fox, eds., *Maryland: A History* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1983), 309–10; William J. Evitts, *A Matter of Allegiances: Maryland from 1850 to 1861* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974), 13–51; Douglas Bowers, "Ideology and Political Parties in Maryland, 1851–1856," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 64 (1969): 197–217.

3. Whitman H. Ridgway, *Community Leadership in Maryland, 1790–1840: A Comparative Analysis of Power in Society* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979), 97; Baker, *Ambivalent Americans*, 1–23; Duncan, "The Era of the Civil War," 311–12; Gerald S. Henig, *Henry Winter Davis: Antebellum and Civil War Congressman from Maryland* (New York: Twayne, 1973), 72–74; Lawrence Frederick Schmeckebier, *History of the Know-Nothing Party in Maryland* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1899), 15–19; Evitts, *A Matter of Allegiances*, 55–67; Gary L. Browne, *Baltimore in the Nation, 1789–1861* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980), 168–69, 171, 184–85; Joseph Garonzik, "Urbanization and the Black Population of Baltimore, 1850-1870" (Ph.D. diss., State University of New York at Stony Brook, 1974), 30, 65; Jane C. Bernstein, "From Anonymity to Unity: The Baltimore Ironworkers' Strike of 1853" (M.A. thesis, University of Maryland, College Park, 1989), 16, 95–96, 104–5, 108; Benjamin Tuska, "Know-Nothingism in Baltimore, 1854–1860," *The Catholic Historical Review*, 15 (1925): 217–51, 219–20; Michael Franch, "Congregation and Community in Baltimore, 1840–1860" (Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland, College Park, 1984), 360–81; for the persistence of the Catholic education issue after 1852, see the *Baltimore American Democrat*, November 3, 1855, and Anna Ella Carroll, *The Great American Battle; or the Contest Between Christianity and Political Romanism* (New York: Miller, Orton and Mulligan, 1856). Later, as sectional issues pressed upon Maryland's electorate, Know-Nothings increasingly stressed their attachment to the Union, and many supporters found their way into the wartime Union party.

For demographic data, see Marcus Lee Hanson, *The Atlantic Migration, 1607–1860* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1940), 190; Joseph C. G. Kennedy, *Population of the United States in 1860; Compiled from the Original Returns of the 8th Census, Under the Direction of the Secretary of the Interior* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1864), 611.

4. For the American party's career in the South, see Baker, *Ambivalent Americans*; Anthony Gene Carey, "Too Southern to Be Americans: Proslavery Politics and the Failure of the Know-Nothing Party in Georgia, 1854–1856," *Civil War History*, 41 (1995): 22–39; Deusner, "The Know-Nothing Riots in Louisville"; Lowell H. Harrison and James C. Klotter, *A New History of Kentucky* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1997), 121–24; W. Darrell Overdyke, *The Know-Nothing Party in the South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1950); Overdyke, "History of the American Party in Louisiana," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, 15–16 (1932–33); Primm, *Lion of the Valley*, 173–81; Cecil S. H. Ross, "Dying Hard, Dying Fast: The Know-Nothing Experience in Mississippi" (Ph.D. diss., University of Notre Dame, 1982); Marius Carriere Jr., "The Know-Nothing Movement in Louisiana" (Ph.D. diss., Louisiana State University, 1977); Carriere, "Anti-Catholicism, Nativism, and Louisiana Politics in the 1850s," *Louisiana History*, 35 (Fall 1994): 455–74; Soule, *The Know-Nothing Party in New Orleans: A Reappraisal*; Philip Morrison Rice, "The Know-Nothing Party in Virginia, 1854–1856," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 55 (January 1947): 61–75.

5. Dennis C. Rousey, "Aliens in the WASP Nest: Ethnocultural Diversity in the Urban South,"

Journal of American History, 79 (June 1992): 152–64, 154, 156. European immigrants made up approximately one-third of the urban populations of both sections in 1860; also see Randall Miller, "The Enemy Within: Some Effects of Foreign Immigrants on Antebellum Southern Cities," *Southern Studies*, 24 (1985): 34–45; Ira Berlin and Herbert G. Gutman, "Natives and Immigrants, Free Men and Slaves: Urban Workingmen in the Antebellum American South," *American Historical Review*, 88 (1983): 1175–1200.

6. The literature on the transformation of Southern politics is too vast to catalog here. An overview of the rise of pro-slavery politics is provided in William J. Cooper Jr., *The South and the Politics of Slavery, 1828–1856* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1978), 362, 368, 373; Michael F. Holt, *The Political Crisis of the 1850s* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1978), 96–97; for an important counterpoint to the section-wide triumph of the Democratic party, see Daniel H. Crofts, *Reluctant Confederates: Upper South Unionists in the Secession Crisis* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1989).

7. *Baltimore Sun*, November 7, 1860. For a discussion of how slavery sentiments harmed Baltimore Know-Nothings under the right conditions, see Henig, *Henry Winter Davis*, 115.

8. These aspects of machine politics conform to the definitions offered in John M. Allswang, *Bosses, Machines, and Urban Voters*, rev. ed. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), 4–5; Stephen P. Erie, *Rainbow's End: Irish-Americans and the Dilemmas of Machine Politics, 1840–1895* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 2; Bridges, *A City in the Republic*, 2; M. Craig Brown and Charles N. Halaby, "Machine Politics in America, 1870–1945," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 17 (1987): 587–612, 595–96; Martin Shefter, "The Emergence of the Political Machine: An Alternative View," in W. Hawley and M. Lipsky, eds., *Theoretical Perspectives on Urban Politics* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1976): 14–44, 41; Ira Katznelson, "The Crisis of the Capitalist City: Urban Politics and Social Control," in Hawley and Lipsky, eds., *Theoretical Perspectives on Urban Politics*, 214–29, 225. For contemporary descriptions, see Jacob Frey, *Reminiscences of Baltimore* (Baltimore: Maryland Book Concern, 1893), 90.

9. Philip J. Ethington, *The Public City: The Political Construction of Urban Life in San Francisco, 1850–1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 28–29; Alan Lessoff, *The Nation and Its City: Politics, Corruption, and Progress in Washington, D.C., 1861–1902* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), 8–13; Robin L. Einhorn, *Property Rules: Political Economy in Chicago, 1833–1872* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 16–19; Alan I. Marcus, *A Plague of Strangers: Social Groups and the Origins of City Services in Cincinnati, 1819–1870* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1991), 9–12; Terence J. McDonald, *The Parameters of Urban Fiscal Policy: Socioeconomic Change and Political Culture in San Francisco, 1860–1900* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986); McDonald, "The Problem of the Political in Recent American Urban History: Liberal Pluralism and the Rise of Functionalism," *Social History*, 10 (1985): 323–45, 336–37; McDonald, "Putting Politics Back into the History of the American City," *American Quarterly*, 34 (1982): 200–209, 204; Jon C. Teaford, *The Unheralded Triumph: City Government in America, 1870–1900* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984); Jon C. Teaford, "Finis for Tweed and Steffens: Rewriting the History of Urban Rule," in Stanley I. Kutler and Stanley N. Katz, eds., *The Promise of American History: Progress and Prospects* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982): 133–49.

10. For more on the demobilization of voters through coercion as a response to scarce patronage resources see Erie, *Rainbow's End*, 11, 35; for the impact of the relationship between federal, state, and municipal bureaucracies on city governments, see Teaford, *The Unheralded Triumph*, 95, and Alan DiGaetano, "The Rise and Development of Urban Political Machines: An Alternative to Merton's Functional Analysis," *Urban Affairs Quarterly*, 24 (1988): 242–67, 252.

11. Terrence McDonald, ed., William L. Riordon, *Plunkitt of Tammany Hall* (Boston: St. Martin's Press, 1994).

12. Returns of the Officers of the Corporation, in *Ordinances and Resolutions of the Mayor and City Council,* 1852 and 1860, reels 1227-28, Baltimore City Archives, hereafter BCA; J. H. Hollander, *The Financial History of Baltimore* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1899), 201–2, 223, 380–81; these figures do not include the unique jump in spending incurred by the creation of the Water Department in 1854. Because the water department created a one-time jump in spending that was carried out by both American party and Democratic administrators, measures of spending in the five-year period 1851–55 do not clearly distinguish between party administrations. For the water department, see Thaddeus P. Thomas, *The City Government of Baltimore* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1896), 27.

13. Other examples of increased municipal employment include teachers, whose numbers tripled from seventy-five in 1851 to 222 by 1860, and the fire department, a creation of Mayor Swann that provided full-time salaries for sixty-five men in 1860. Precise employment figures for the city are difficult to determine because city officials did not regularly include employment statistics in their annual reports, which are themselves scattered for the antebellum period. The number of workers listed on annual city payrolls does not include hundreds of other manual laborers and skilled craftsmen employed by contractors working on city construction projects, and hired directly by the city for one-time projects such as building a park. Taken as a whole the figures show that employment exceeded 1,000 workers per year. But coming up with a precise breakdown of employment numbers in each department for every year of the decade, or even one year, would mean either omitting some departments or combing figures for different years. Either procedure would leave unanswered questions about rates of employment and change over time. City of Baltimore, *Members of the City Council, Their Clerks, and Officers of the Corporation of the City of Baltimore, 1852 and 1861,* at the BCA; DeFrancais Folsom, *Our Police* (Baltimore, 1888), 24; Samuel MacCubbin, City Comptroller, to the mayor and city council, April 23, 1860, City Council Correspondence, RG 16, ser. 1, box 11, WPA# 599-Z, BCA; *Report of the Commissioners of the Public Schools* in the Returns of the Officers of the Corporation, 1852, p. 159, also see *Report* for 1860, p. 369; *Port Warden's Annual Report, Names of Persons Employed, Their Offices, and Salaries in the City Yard,* n. d. [1855], Reports and Returns, RG 41, ser. 1, box 71, WPA# 1144, BCA; *Port Warden, Monthly Reports,* 1853-1859, City Council Papers, Monthly Reports, RG 39, ser. 3, BCA.

The 3 percent figure for patronage employees and the electorate is based on the voter turnout at the 1860 presidential election, one of the highest turnouts of the decade, in which 30,151 men cast ballots. The 1860 turnout was less than 15 percent of Baltimore's total population of 212,418 people. For voting and population statistics, see *Baltimore Sun* November 7, 1860; Kennedy, *Population of the United States in 1860,* 611.

14. For examples of election violence prior to the mid-1850s, see Schmeckebier, *History of the Know-Nothing Party in Maryland,* 40–43; Tuska, "History of Know-Nothingism in Baltimore," 221–22; *Baltimore Sun,* October 4, 1844 and October 14, 1852; *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser,* October 10, 1850. See also W. Wayne Smith, "Jacksonian Democracy on the Chesapeake: The Political Institutions," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* 62 (1967): 392 and W. Wayne Smith, "The Whig Party in Maryland, 1826–1856" (Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland, College Park, 1967), 206–7.

15. "An Act to Reduce Into One the Several Acts of Assembly Respecting Elections, and to Regulate Said Elections," *The Laws of Maryland,* 1805, chapter 97, sections 10, 12, 13; U.S.

Congress, House of Representatives, *Maryland Contested Election—Third District. Papers in the Contested Election Case from the Third Congressional District, Maryland—William P. Whyte vs. J. Morrison Harris* (35th Cong., 1st Sess. Washington: House Committee on Elections, 1858), hereafter, U.S. House, *Maryland Contested Election, Third District, 1857*, 90–91, 151–52, 224, also see 231–34 for use of poll books, or "block books," in detecting vote fraud. For more on the creation of voter lists, see Maryland General Assembly, House of Delegates, *Baltimore City Contested Election—Papers in the Contested Election from Baltimore City, 1859: Adam Denmead, E. Wyatt Blanchard, Francis B. Loney et al. vs. Charles L. Kraft, Thomas Booze, Robert L. Seth et al.* (Annapolis: House of Delegates, 1860), 78–79, hereafter, Maryland, House of Delegates, *Baltimore Contested Election, 1859*.

16. For police, see *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, November 3, 1856; Baker, *Ambivalent Americans*, 129; for conflicts over the role of special police, see Thomas Swann to T. Watkins Ligon, October 28, 1857, Governors' Letterbook, 1854-1864, Maryland Hall of Records, Annapolis; Governor's Message, 1858, in Schmeckebier, *History of the Know-Nothing Party in Maryland*, 84; for examples of poll challengers, see U.S. House, *Maryland Contested Election, Third District, 1857*, 160.

17. U.S. House, *Maryland Contested Election, Third District, 1857*, 243, also see 117; Maryland, House of Delegates, *Baltimore Contested Election, 1859*, 12.

18. Jean H. Baker, *Affairs of Party: The Political Culture of Northern Democrats in the Mid-Nineteenth Century* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983), 309; Peter H. Argersinger, "From Party Tickets to Secret Ballots: The Evolution of the Electoral Process in Maryland During the Gilded Age," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 82 (1987): 214–39.

19. "An Act to Reduce Into One the Several Acts of Assembly Respecting Elections, and to Regulate Said Elections," *The Laws of Maryland*, 1805, ch. 97, sections 25–29; An Act to Prevent Illegal Voting," ibid., 1845, ch. 309.

20. *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, November 5, 1856; *Baltimore Sun*, October 8 and November 5, 1856; *Baltimore Patriot*, November 6, 1856. Quotation is from the *Baltimore American;* Evitts, *A Matter of Allegiances*, 98; Baker, *Ambivalent Americans*, 129; Tuska, "Know-Nothingism in Baltimore," 230; U.S. House, *Maryland Contested Election, Third District, 1857;* Maryland, House of Delegates, *Baltimore Contested Election, 1859*.

Much of the scholarly writing on collective violence in pre–Civil War America has drawn on E. P. Thompson's model of the "moral economy" of the crowd and Clifford Geertz's anthropological theory to analyze the symbolic meaning of antebellum violence. This study has focused on the practical outcomes of violence rather than its cultural meanings. For some examples, see E. P. Thompson, "The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century," *Past and Present*, 50 (1971): 76–131; David Grimsted, "Rioting in Its Jacksonian Setting," *American Historical Review*, 77 (1972): 361–97, 389, 393; Grimsted, "Ante-Bellum Labor: Violence, Strike, and Communal Arbitration," *Journal of Social History*, 19 (1985): 5–28; Bruce Laurie, "'Nothing on Compulsion': Life Styles of Philadelphia Artisans, 1820–1850," *Labor History*, 15 (1974): 339–66; Paul A. Gilje, "The Baltimore Riots of 1812 and the Breakdown of the Anglo-American Mob Tradition," *Journal of Social History*, 13(1980): 547–64; Altina H. Waller, "Community, Class and Race in the Memphis Riot of 1866," *Journal of Social History*, 18 (1984): 233–46; Sean Wilentz, *Chants Democratic: New York City and the Rise of the American Working Class, 1788–1850* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), 64–66; George Rable, *But There Was No Peace: The Role of Violence in the Politics of Reconstruction* (Athens: Georgia University Press, 1984); Carl E. Prince, "The Great 'Riot Year': Jacksonian Democracy and Patterns of Violence in 1834," *Journal of the Early Republic*, 5 (1985): 1–19, 18; Susan G. Davis, *Parades and Power: Street Theater in Nine-*

teenth-Century Philadelphia (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986); Michael A. Gordon, *The Orange Riots: Irish Political Violence in New York City, 1870 and 1871* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993).

21. "An Act to Regulate Elections," *The Laws of Maryland,* 1799, ch. 50; *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser,* November 4, 1856; for examples of how Know-Nothings moved polls to sites favoring election fraud, see Maryland, House of Delegates, *Baltimore Contested Election, 1859,* 11-15; U.S. House, *Maryland Contested Election, Third District, 1857,* 105; *Daily Baltimore Republican,* November 6, 1857. See the *Daily Baltimore Republican,* June 7, 1855, for an example of Democrats using the party's Seventeenth Ward headquarters as a polling place.

22. Maryland, House of Delegates, *Baltimore Contested Election, 1859,* 90-91, 259; U.S. House, *Maryland Contested Election, Third District, 1857,* 101. Most of the testimony at the investigations into Know-Nothing election fraud came from Democrats victimized by American party violence. As such, these sources are open to charges of partisan bias. The accounts given for the 1857 and 1859 elections are corroborated in local newspapers. For examples, see the *Daily Baltimore Republican,* November 5–7, 1857, and the *Baltimore American,* November 3–19, 1859. Furthermore, in hearings held by the Maryland General Assembly and the U.S. House of Representatives, attorneys representing the American party cross-examined these witnesses and deflated much of the hyperbole in their testimony.

23. For the background on cooping which antedated the American party, see Browne, *Baltimore in the Nation,* 203; Evitts, *A Matter of Allegiances,* 114; Thomas Swann, *Mayor's Message and Annual Reports of the City's Departments to the Mayor and City Council of Baltimore, 1858* (Baltimore: George W. Bowen, 1858), 21-22; Schmeckebier, *History of the Know-Nothing Party in Maryland,* 40–41; Tuska, "Know-Nothingism in Baltimore," 222; J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and County from the Earliest Period to the Present Day: Including Biographical Sketches of their Representative Men* (Philadelphia: Louis H. Everts, 1881), 123.

One myth connected with Baltimore election riots is that Edgar Allan Poe died as the result of being cooped in the October 3, 1849, elections. While Poe was found in a debilitated state near the Fourth Ward polls and had been an associate of one of that ward's election judges, pneumonia rather than cooping probably killed him. See Charles Scarlett Jr., "A Tale of Ratiocination: The Death and Burial of Edgar Allan Poe," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* 73 (1978): 360–65 ; John E. Reilly, "Robert D'Unger and His Reminiscences of Edgar Allan Poe in Baltimore," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* 88 (1993): 68.

24. The 1860 session of the House of Delegates gave enough credence to this testimony to overturn the results of that contest and unseat the American party representatives from Baltimore.

25. Maryland, House of Delegates, *Baltimore Contested Election, 1859,* for Teufel's and Kitler's testimony, see 180–81; for other examples of cooping, see 35–36, 74, 102–4, 136–37, 180–83, and 248–50. For the layout of Levy's tavern, see 104, and *Baltimore Sun,* November 4, 1860.

26. Maryland, House of Delegates, *Baltimore Contested Election, 1859,* 248–50.

27. The 700 names referred to above come from the same sources as those listed for the background of 149 club members listed below. Over two-thirds of these club members were between twenty and thirty-nine years old in 1860. Their median household wealth in 1860 was $971 compared to a city-wide average of $1,480. In a city that was 25 percent foreign-born, Maryland-born club members made up 71 percent of these men, and 91 percent of them were American-born. See Maryland, House of Delegates, *Baltimore Contested Election, 1859;* U.S. House, *Maryland Contested Election, Third District, 1857;* Browne, *Baltimore in*

the Nation, 292; Barbara Jeanne Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground: Maryland During the Nineteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 60; Mayor's Correspondence, 1853–1861, BCA; *Baltimore Clipper; Baltimore Sun; Baltimore American Democrat; Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser; Baltimore Patriot;* John W. Woods, *Woods' Baltimore Directory for 1858–59* (Baltimore: John W. Woods, 1859); Woods, *Baltimore City Directory, 1860* (Baltimore: John W. Wood, 1860); Matchett, *Matchett's Baltimore Directory for 1855–56* (Baltimore: R. J. Matchett, 1856); United States Eighth Census, 1860, Population Schedules for Baltimore City, microfilm reels ser. M653 #458–466, National Archives and Records Administration, hereafter NARA; City of Baltimore, *Officers of the Corporation,* 1851–1861, BCA; U.S. Secretary of State, *Register of Officers and Agents, Civil, Military, and Naval in the Service of the United States* (Washington: A. P. Nicholson), 1852–1862; Treasury Department, Customs House Nominations—Delaware, Maryland, Georgetown, D.C., Virginia, March 4, 1857–March 4, 1861, Civil Records, NARA.

For occupational ranking methods, see Stephan Thernstrom, "On the Socioeconomic Ranking of Occupations," in *The Other Bostonians* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1975): 289–302; Theodore Hershberg, Michael Katz, Stuart Blumin, Laurence Glasco, and Clyde Griffen, "Occupation and Ethnicity in Five Nineteenth-Century Cities: A Collaborative Inquiry," *Historical Methods Newsletter,* 7 (1974): 174–216; Ethington, *The Public City,* 420–24.

For background on political clubs, see Roy V. Peel, *The Political Clubs of New York City* (New York: G. H. Putnam's Sons, 1935); Jerome Mushkat, *Tammany: The Evolution of a Political Machine, 1789-1865* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1971); Peter H. Amman, *Revolution and Mass Democracy: The Paris Club Movement of 1848* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975); Herbert Asbury, *The Gangs of New York: An Informal History of the Underworld* (New York: Knopf, 1927); Baker, *Affairs of Party,* 286-87; Paul A. Gilje, *The Road to Mobocracy: Popular Disorder in New York City, 1763-1834* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987); Bridges, *A City in the Republic,* 76–77; Bruce Laurie, "Fire Companies and Gangs in Southwark: The 1840s," in Davis and Haller, eds., *The Peoples of Philadelphia,* 71-88; Wilentz, *Chants Democratic,* 259–63; Richard B. Stott, *Workers in the Metropolis: Class, Ethnicity, and Youth in Antebellum New York City* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990), 229–31.

Although patronage is well documented, direct payments to the clubs are difficult to trace given that most amounts came from the on-hand supplies of politicians and the clubs left no collections of their papers. Two examples of clubs asking elected officials for money are in Browne, *Baltimore in the Nation,* 292, and Bresent to Steptoe B. Taylor, Seventeenth Ward representative on the 1st branch of the city council, October 13, 1859, City Council Papers, box 36. The American party sponsored a city-wide club convention, see the *Baltimore Clipper,* September 8 and 12, 1857; clubs continued to elect delegates to the city-wide club convention in the summer of 1859, see the *Baltimore Clipper,* July 8, 12, 18, and 20, 1859; Baker, *Ambivalent Americans,* 110–12, 123; Know-Nothing ward councils and even the party's Superior Council which represented the top unit of the city party's bureaucracy included members of political clubs. For examples of Tiger club activists in the party bureaucracy, see the *Baltimore Clipper,* July 6, 1859.

28. See note 27 for sources on club membership and municipal employment. Know-Nothing administrators in New Orleans put election rioters on the police force and purged it of Democrats and immigrants. See Dennis C. Rousey, *Policing the Southern City: New Orleans, 1805–1889* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1996), 72–76

29. Evitts, *A Matter of Allegiances,* 112-13; William P. Whyte, Baltimore Municipal Election

Testimony, 1857, 2-4, 20, in Frederick and William Pinckney Whyte Papers, Special Collections, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, hereafter MdHSSC; Maryland, House of Delegates, *Baltimore City Contested Election, 1859,* 87-88, 90-91, 161; D. H. McPhail to Thomas Swann, March 12, 1857, Mayor's Correspondence, BCA; Stephen H. Manly et al. to Thomas Swann, n.d. [1857], Mayor's Correspondence, BCA.

30. See note 27 for sources on club membership.

31. Data for the Tiger club occupations include the sources listed in note 27 and the following: U. S. Seventh Census, 1850, Population Schedules for Baltimore City, microfilm ser. 432 #281–87, NARA; John W. Woods, *Wood's Baltimore Directory for 1858–59;* Discharges, 1865, Civil War Records, RG 56, BCA; Roll of Captains, Engineers, Firemen, and Laborers employed on work connected with the deepening and improvement of the harbor, July 16, 1864, Reports and Returns, box 84, WPA 1621, BCA; List of men, horses, and carts employed by the city for the week ending June 12, 1858, Reports and Returns, box 75, WPA 1858; Receipt of pay, Baltimore Water Board, July 3, 1863, Water Works Records, RG 62, ser. 1, box 4, WPA 117, BCA; Appointments by the Mayor, n.d. [1860], City Council Papers, RG 16, ser. 1, box 12, WPA 406, BCA; "Petition of the Mechanics and laborers employed in the City Yard asking for an increase in pay," March 4, 1863, City Council Papers, box 125, WPA 468; "Petition of the employees in the city yard asking for an increase in pay," January 4, 1864, City Council Papers, box 128, WPA 231; Dielman-Hayward file, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, hereafter MdHS Library; *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser,* November 2 and 8, 1859.

32. Hanford's endorsement is in Stephen H. Manly et al. to Mayor Thomas Swann, 1857, Mayor's Correspondence, BCA. For Barker's application, see George A. Coleman et al. to Thomas Swann, February 2, 1857, Mayor's Correspondence; *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser,* November 6, 1856, 1; *Officers of the Corporation,* 1857–58. See also the case of Charles Ensor, wounded in the 1856 election riots and recommended for police service because of his performance in that riot, Charles Ensor to Thomas Swann, n.d. [1857], Mayor's Correspondence; *Baltimore American,* November 6, 1856, 1; *Daily Baltimore Republican,* November 6, 1856.

33. U.S. House of Representatives, *Maryland Contested Election, Third District, 1857,* 27–28; for the use of coercion by election judges elsewhere, see Kenneth J. Winkle, *The Politics of Community: Migration and Politics in Antebellum Ohio* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 87.

34. *Baltimore Clipper,* October 5, 1860, 1; *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser,* November 4, 1856, 2; U.S. Congress, House, *Maryland Contested Election, Third District, 1857;* Judges of Election to the Mayor and City Council of Baltimore, November 8, 1853, Mayor's Correspondence, BCA; *Baltimore American Democrat,* November 7, 1855, 2; Maryland, House of Delegates, *Baltimore City Contested Election, 1859;* Vouchers from Clerks and Judges of Election, April 1861, in Bills, Vouchers, Checks, and Payrolls, BCA; City of Baltimore, *Members of the City Council, Their Clerks, and Officers of the Corporation,* vols. 1853–1861, BCA.

35. For information on Codet, see City of Baltimore, *Officers of the Corporation,* 1857, 13–14; *Baltimore American Democrat,* September 27, 1855, 2, November 7, 1855, 2; *Baltimore American,* November 4, 1856, 2; Woods, *Woods' Baltimore City Directory . . . 1860,* 79; William P. Whyte, Baltimore Contested Election Testimony, 1857, 4, Frederick and William P. Whyte Papers, MdHSSC; *Baltimore, Clipper,* December 11, 1854, 2; U.S. Seventh Census, Population schedules for Baltimore City, Tenth Ward, 102.

36. William P. Whyte, Baltimore Contested Election Testimony, 1857, 4, Whyte Papers,

MdHSSC; U.S. House, *Maryland Contested Election, Third District, 1857,* 41–42, 203, 223–24. For another club-related election judge, see House of Delegates, *Baltimore City Contested Election, 1859,* 52.

37. Maryland, House of Delegates, *Baltimore City Contested Election, 1859,* 45–46; also see *Daily Baltimore Republican,* November 5, 1857.

38. For examples of party leaders at club rallies, see *Baltimore American Democrat,* September 17, 1855; *Baltimore Clipper,* April 17 and 30, 1857. Davis sponsored excursions for the Pioneer Hook and Ladder Company in an effort to win the fire company away from the Democrats. See *Baltimore Pony Gazette,* April 27, 1856, Pioneer Hook and Ladder Company Papers, MdHSSC.

Club involvement in American party parades can be found in most accounts of Know-Nothing rallies, for example see the *American Democrat,* September 15, October 8, and November 1 and 2, 1855.

McPhail quoted in the *Baltimore Clipper,* April 17, 1857; for his election as state lottery commissioner, see *Baltimore American Democrat,* November 6 and 13, 1855; Schmeckebier, *History of the Know-Nothing Party in Maryland,* 23; Duncan, "The Era of the Civil War," 320. Military imagery permeated nineteenth-century political rhetoric, and the line between metaphor and literal calls to arms could blur in the minds of some partisans. Jean Baker has explored the military character of campaign rhetoric in *Ambivalent Americans,* 132–33, and *Affairs of Party,* 288. For a Know-Nothing comparison of the 1855 municipal elections with the siege of Sebastopol, see the *American Democrat,* September 26, 1855.

39. Banner slogan is quoted in Henig, *Henry Winter Davis,* 116; Evitts, *A Matter of Allegiances,* 128; Baker, *Ambivalent Americans,* 54–55, 133; coroner's inquest, n.d. [1859] Health Department Records, RG 19 ser. 1, box 26, BCA; *Baltimore Clipper,* October 4, 1860. Extended accounts of Preston's beating and Kyle's murder are in the *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser,* November 3–15, 1859; Virginia Walcott Beauchamp, "Madge Preston's Private War," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* 82 (1987): 70; Maryland, House of Delegates, *Baltimore City Contested Election, 1859,* 236, 251.

40. Baker, *Ambivalent Americans,* 129–34; Joel H. Silbey, *The American Political Nation, 1838–1893* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991), 148.

41. Election returns which inform charts 1–3 were taken from the following sources: *Baltimore American,* October 4, 1845, October 8, 1846, October 7, 1847, November 8, 1848, October 4, 1849, October 3, 1850, October 9, 1851, October 14, 1852, November 8, 1853, October 12, 1854, November 5, 1856, and November 4, 1859; *Baltimore American Democrat,* November 8, 1855; *Baltimore Sun,* November 5, 1856, October 14, 58; *Baltimore Clipper,* May 28, 1858; Maryland, House of Delegates, *Baltimore City Contested Election, 1859,* 312–13; and *Baltimore Daily Exchange,* October 11, 1860.

42. For charts 1–3 the office contested in each of the election years is as follows: 1845, House of Delegates; 1846, State Senate; 1847, governor; 1848, mayor; 1849, House of Delegates; 1850, House of Delegates; 1851, 1st branch city council; 1852, mayor; 1853, House of Delegates; 1854, mayor; 1855, House of Delegates; October 1856, mayor; November 1856, president; 1857, governor; 1858, mayor; 1859, House of Delegates; 1860, mayor.

43. Fillmore's weak showing in the South is treated in Overdyke, *The Know-Nothing Party in the South,* 154, and 261–95 for the party's general decay after 1856; Cooper, *The South and the Politics of Slavery,* 368–69; David Potter and Don E. Fehrenbacher, *The Impending Crisis, 1848–1861* (New York: Harper and Row, 1976), 415; for some state accounts, see Primm, *Lion of the Valley,* 180; Rice, "The Know-Nothing Party in Virginia," 166; Carey, "Too Southern to Be American," 33, 40; Marc W. Kruman, *Parties and Politics in North Carolina, 1836–*

1865 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1983), 178; for riots in New Orleans, see Soule, *The Know-Nothing Party in New Orleans,* 81; Mary Lilla McClure, "Development of Political Parties and Factions to 1860," in Mark T. Carleton, Perry H. Howard, and Joseph B. Parker, eds., *Readings in Louisiana Politics* (Baton Rouge: Claitor's Publishing Division, 1975), 177; Louisville elected Know-Nothings in 1856 without violence, see Deusner, "The Know-Nothing Riots in Louisville," 147.

For the Know-Nothings' Northern experience in 1856, see Tyler Anbinder, *Nativism and Slavery: The Northern Know-Nothings and the Politics of the 1850s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 207–9; William E. Geinapp, *The Origins of the Republican Party, 1852–1856* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 182, 187, 365; for the far west, see Peyton Hurt, "The Rise and Fall of the 'Know-Nothings' in California," *Quarterly of the California Historical Society,* 9 (March and June 1930), 56.

44. *Baltimore American,* November 5, 1856; *Baltimore Sun,* November 5, 1856; *Daily Baltimore Republican,* November 5, 1856.

45. For examples of Democratic election rioting in the Eighth Ward, see *American Democrat,* September 12, 1855; *Daily Baltimore Republican,* October 9 and November 15, 1856, and November 5, 1857, for the Eighth Ward police killing see October 16, 1857; *Baltimore American,* November 5, 1856; U.S. House, *Maryland Contested Election, Third District, 1857,* 248.

46. *Baltimore American,* October 12 and November 8, 1848, October 14 and November 3, 1852; *Baltimore Sun,* November 5, 1856, November 7, 1860; *Baltimore Daily Exchange,* October 11, 1860.

47. List of Voters of the 11th Ward, 1858–1859, MdHS Library. Authenticating the Eleventh Ward voter list is difficult given that the document includes only a notation "1858–1859" on its first page. The number of voters on the list surpasses the ward's total vote at all elections held up to 1865, ruling out the possibility that it was a poll book, or a list of men who voted at a single election. See note 14 for information on voter lists. Very likely Wilson C. N. Carr, a Democratic notable from the Eleventh Ward, compiled the voter lists. The party annually assigned him to update the ward's block book from the early 1850s. See Maryland, House of Delegates, *Baltimore Contested Election, 1859,* 194. The 1858–59 list might have been preserved as part of the evidence in the 1859 contested election case that unseated Baltimore's delegation to the General Assembly in 1860.

48. List of Voters of the 11th Ward, 1858–1859; Poll Book (n.p.; n.d. [1861]), MdHS Library. The elections of 1858–59 are covered in *Baltimore Sun,* October 14, 1858; *Baltimore American,* October 13, 1859; Maryland, House of Delegates, *Baltimore Contested Election, 1859,* 184; Tuska, "Know-Nothingism in Baltimore," 239–44; Evitts, *A Matter of Allegiances,* 120–28. For the Eleventh Ward's similarity to other parts of Baltimore, see Garonzik, "Urbanization and the Black Population of Baltimore, 1850-1870," 45–46, 66. Among its atypical features, the Eleventh Ward housed the wealthy neighborhood of Mt. Vernon and had few Germans and a higher than average concentration of Irish-born residents. Some heavy industry operated near Jones Falls, but the Eleventh Ward was not as heavily industrialized as the Eighteenth or the garment-producing neighborhoods west of downtown.

49. Other treatments of discontinuity in voter participation include Dale Baum, *The Civil War Party System: The Case of Massachusetts, 1848–1876* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1984), 33; Paul Bourke and Donald DeBats, *Washington County: Politics and Community in Antebellum America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), 194–95; Winkle, *The Politics of Community,* 88–108.

50. This figure is based on the List of Voters in the 11th Ward, 1858; *Poll Book* [1861];

quotation from William Bowly Wilson, Reminiscences of April 19th, 1861, Civil War File, MdHSSC

The rate of persistence among Eleventh Ward residents was determined by matching the 1st Precinct's voters with names listed in city directories for 1858–59 and 1855–56. See Matchett, *Matchett's Baltimore Director, for 1855–'56;* Woods, *Woods' Baltimore Directory for 1858–59.*

51. For police efforts to disarm and break up Democratic clubs, see Evitts, *A Matter of allegiances,* 103. Accounts of police seizures of arms from pro-Democratic clubs and militia units in the 1857 political campaigns are in the *Daily Baltimore Republican,* August 12–14, 17–18, 22, 24, and 29, September 7, and October 17, 1857. Members of the Empire club unsuccessfully sued city government for the seizure of over $1,000 worth of firearms from their headquarters; police also threatened Democratic editors who consistently attacked the Know-Nothings, *Daily Baltimore Republican,* October 17, 1857. For an example of such arrests from a newspaper partisan to the American party, see the *Clipper's* account of police arresting thirty-seven Germans at Turner Hall on May 31, 1858.

52. For these reforms, called the Baltimore Bills, and the arrests of club leaders, see Evitts, *A Matter of Allegiances,* 132; Baker, *The Politics of Continuity,* 27; *The Laws of Maryland,* 1860, ch. 7; Henig, *Henry Winter Davis,* 138; "Law and Order" to George William Brown n.d. [1861] Mayor's Correspondence, BCA; *Baltimore Daily Exchange,* February 11 and 13, 1860; *Baltimore Clipper,* August 31 and October 3, 1860.

53. Adam Kyle Sr.'s background is in *Baltimore American,* October 14, 29, and 31 and November 1, 1859; Ralph Clayton *Black Baltimore, 1820–1870* (Bowie, Md: Heritage Books, 1987), 53–74.

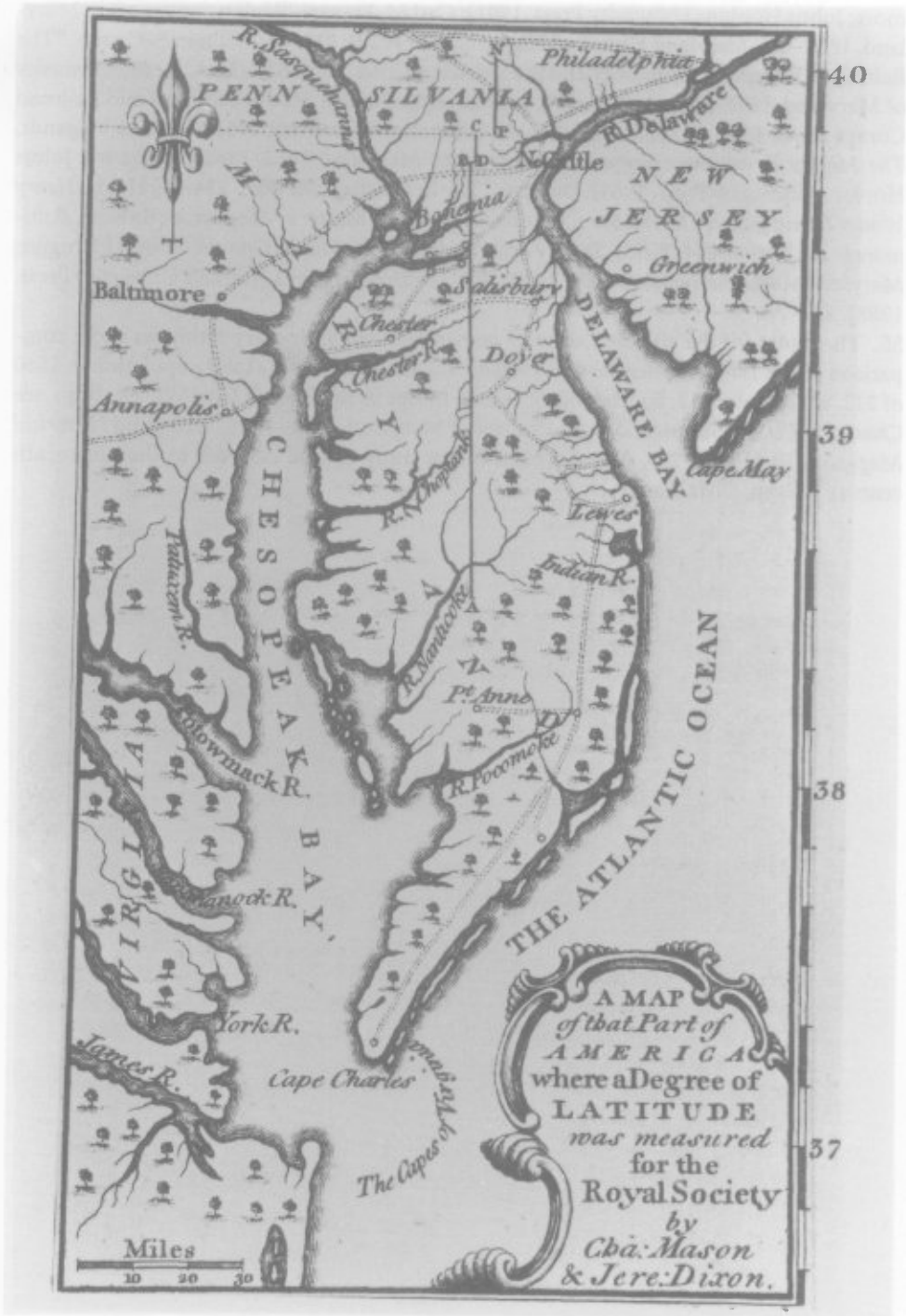
Gangs' service in the Union army comes from a study of the Tiger club. More than half of the club's fifty-five identifiable members fought for the Union, and none turned up in records for the Confederate armed forces. That rate of service doubled the state-wide rate for draft age white males. See L. Allison Wilmer, J. H. Jarrett, and George W. E. Wilmer, *History and Roster of Maryland Volunteers, War of 1861–1865,* 2 vols. (Baltimore: Guggenheim, Weil and Co., 1898); Discharges, 1865, Bounty Applications, 1862–65, and Muster Rolls, 1862–65, all in the Civil War Records, RG 56, BCA; Petition of the Discharged Soldiers and Sailors of the Volunteer Army and Navy of the US, n.d. [1866], City Council Papers, box 141, WPA# 937; Daniel D. Hartzler, *Marylanders in the Confederacy* (Westminster, Maryland: Family Line Publications, 1986); the best coverage of wartime politics at the state level is Baker, *The Politics of Continuity.*

54. Nineteenth-century historians of Maryland, one of them a Confederate veteran, advanced the thesis that Marylanders in their heart were secessionists. See Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and County;* Scharf, *History of Maryland from the Earliest Period to the Present Day* ([1879]. Reprint, Hatboro, Pa.: Tradition Press, 1967); Matthew Page Andrews, *History of Maryland: Province and State* ([1929]. Reprint, Hatboro, Pa.: Tradition Press, 1965). Memoirs by contemporaries also bolstered this view. See Frank Key Howard, *Fourteen Months in American Bastilles* (Baltimore: Kelly, Hedian, and Pitt, 1863); Lawrence Sangston, *The Bastilles of the North: By a Member of the Maryland Legislature* (Baltimore: Kelly, Hedian, and Pitt, 1863); McHenry Howard, *Recollections of a Maryland Confederate Soldier and Staff Officer Under Johnston, Jackson, and Lee* (Baltimore: Williams and Wilkins, 1914). More concerned with anti-Catholicism than with the lost cause, Tuska's early history of the American party indirectly contributed to this interpretation.

For studies of Civil War politics in Maryland that refute Scharf and Andrews, see George L. P. Radcliffe, *Governor Thomas Hicks of Maryland and the Civil War in Baltimore* (Balti-

more: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1901); Carl M. Frasure, "Union Sentiment in Maryland, 1859–61," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* 24 (1929): 210–24; William B. Catton, "The Baltimore Business Community and the Secession Crisis, 1860-61," (M.A. thesis, University of Maryland, 1952); Catton, "John W. Garrett of the B&O: A Study in Seaport and Railroad Competition, 1820–1874," (Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 1959); Charles Wagandt, *The Mighty Revolution: Negro Emancipation in Maryland, 1862–1864* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1964); Duncan, "The Era of the Civil War," 334–36; Henig, *Henry Winter Davis;* Baker, *The Politics of Continuity;* Evitts, *A Matter of Allegiances;* Browne, *Baltimore in the Nation,* 214; Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground;* Robert J. Brugger, *Maryland: A Middle Temperament, 1630–1980* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988), 277–78.

55. The figure for the eligible electorate comes from contemporary estimates and a comparison of the 1860 presidential vote total of 30,245 with the city's total population in 1860 of 212, 418; see note 12. For the role of federal troops in Baltimore's Civil War elections, see Charles B. Clark, "Suppression and Control of Maryland, 1861–1865," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* 54 (1959): 259, 270; the most recent study of civil disorder in the nineteenth century is Ryan, *Civic Wars.*



Benjamin Keene's land lay in Dorchester County, between the Nanticoke and Choptank Rivers. (Maryland State Archives.)

Benjamin Keene, 1694–1770: Middling Planter of Dorchester County

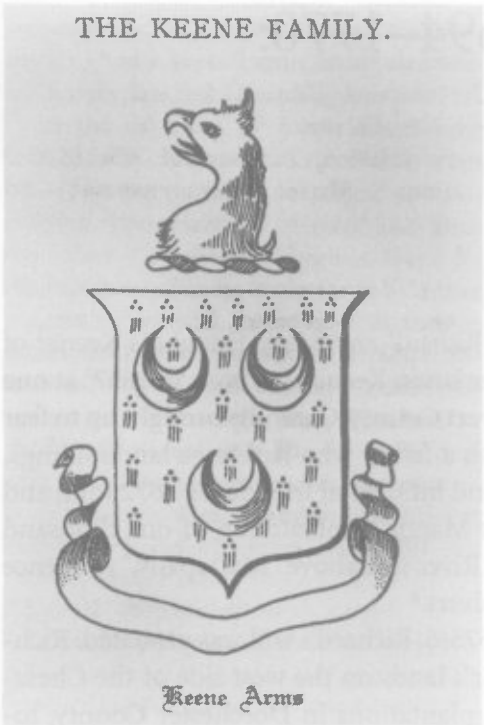
C. HOMER BAST

Captain John Keene, second son of Richard[1] and Mary Hodgkins Keene[2] of Patuxent River, and father of Benjamin Keene, was born in 1657[3] at one of the family plantations in Calvert County. Carefully brought up to fear God, John was educated in keeping with a father who had large landholdings, slaves, white servants, personal wealth and influential friends. By 1672 John and his parents were living at "St. Richard's Manor," a plantation of one thousand acres on the south side of the Patuxent River just above "Mattapany," residence of the third Lord Baltimore, Charles Calvert.[4]

Shortly thereafter, on February 7, 1675/6, Richard's will was probated. Richard Jr. was the beneficiary of Richard Sr.'s lands on the west side of the Chesapeake, while John received his father's plantations in Dorchester County, together with the houses, buildings, orchards, servants and animals. From St. Richard's Manor John acquired a third of the silver plate and 10,000 pounds of tobacco, among other items.[5] Several years elapsed before John settled on those lands he inherited in Dorchester, but residing there must have been on his mind, for in 1685 he was issued a patent for the ninety-nine-acre "Keene's Neglect," located also in Dorchester.[6]

By 1681 John Keene had married Mary Hopewell, daughter of Hugh and Ann Hopewell.[7] The living children of the couple, recognized by John in his will probated on November 14, 1723, were Richard, John, Sarah Travers, Edward, Henry, Benjamin, Ezekiel and Zebulon.[8] Sometime between 1687 and 1694, and possibly in 1690,[9] John and Mary moved to Dorchester County. There, in addition to managing his plantations, John represented clients in court as their attorney,[10] served as a justice of the peace from 1703 until he died,[11] and by 1712 was a captain in the colonial militia.[12] The Keenes lived at "Clark's Outhold," purchased originally by old Richard Keene from Henry Turner and William Merchant on February 6, 1671/2. The dwelling plantation was situated on Salt Marsh Creek (Keene's Creek) on the south side of Slaughter Creek in the Armitage Hundred.[13]

C. Homer Bast is the author of "Tench Tilghman: Maryland Patriot," which appeared in volume 42 (1947) of this magazine.

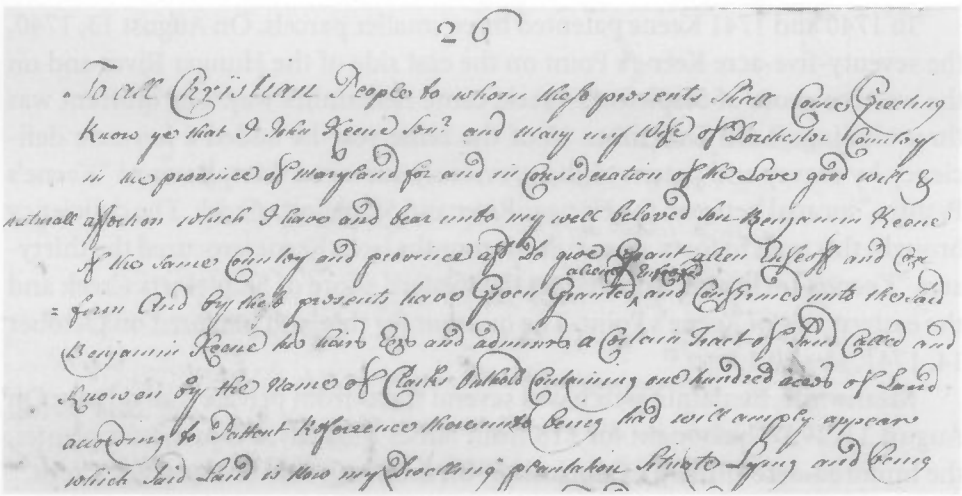


Benjamin Keene descended from the Keene family of Surrey County, England. (Elias Jones, History of Dorchester County *[Baltimore: The Read & Taylor Press, 1925].)*

It was into this house and family that Benjamin was born in 1694. Nothing is known of his early life, but doubtless several of John's younger children received the education available to the sons and daughters of a Dorchester gentleman. Benjamin could read and write, and the possibility exists that he read law as a youth, conceivably under the direction of his father. As early as 1712 Benjamin was witnessing deeds and powers of attorney in the Dorchester court.[14]

As was custom with some of the landed gentry, John and Mary Keene, while living, bestowed their land upon two of the boys. On March 9, 1719/20, they deeded to their well beloved son Benjamin the hundred-acre Clark's Outhold. As a condition of the gift to Benjamin, a life estate in Clark's Outhold was provided for the elderly Keenes.[15] Shortly thereafter, on November 17, 1720, Benjamin was once again the recipient of land from his parents. This time it was the 250-acre "Keene's Neck," lying near the head of the Hungar River but adjoining Clark's Outhold.[16] Several years later, on August 12, 1723, Captain John Keene Sr. deeded the last of his plantations, "Keene's Neglect," to his son Edward, who was living on the estate.[17] Captain John had patented the land, located on the south side of Slaughter Creek, on June 1, 1685.[18]

Benjamin waited fourteen years following the initial gifts from his parents before obtaining more land. Establishing his plantation on a profitable basis



Keene received the first hundred of his nearly two thousand acres from his parents in 1719/20. (Dorchester County Land Records OLD 2:26, Maryland State Archives.)

took precedence over the acquisition of additional acreage. Apparently, when financial resources were available in 1734, Keene began his purchase and hold policy. His accumulation of land from private sources as well as from the Proprietary during the next thirty-one years was middling in size and was made with but few exceptions around Slaughter Creek, which at the time separated Taylors Island from the mainland. Keene made an abortive attempt to secure land on January 11, 1725/6, when he obtained a warrant for ninety acres from the Proprietary. Called "Keene's Venture," the tract was situated on the edge of the Little Beaver Dam marsh on the east side of Slaughter Creek. For whatever reason, Benjamin failed to take up the acreage and instead made over the warrant to his brother Zebulon, who owned no land at the time. Referred to as a planter in the land grant document,[19] Zebulon probably rented or leased land from others. Eventually he, too, became a middling Dorchester planter.

Not until June 10, 1734, did Benjamin actually patent acreage in Dorchester. That year marked the beginning of a string of land acquisitions which would eventually bring the acreage in his possession to 1896.5. His first patent and the surveyor's chain indicated that the tract included 145 acres. Apparently Keene had due him forty-five acres through a warrant from Daniel Fallen on July 27, 1730, and an additional one hundred acres by a proprietary warrant granted on October 29, 1730. Known as "Keene's Outlett," the land surveyed on October 31, 1730, and patented in 1734 was located on the east side of Salt Marsh Creek, which flowed from the east side of Slaughter Creek. The yearly quitrent was £0.2.10.[20] Keene's Outlett probably consisted of "Harper's Choice," fifty acres, "Invasion," forty acres, and "Keene's Meadows," fifty-five acres.

In 1740 and 1741 Keene patented three smaller parcels. On August 13, 1740, the seventy-five-acre Keene's Point on the east side of the Hungar River and on the western shore of Stapleforts Creek, came Benjamin's way. The quitrent was three shillings.[21] On December 10 of the same year he added a ten-acre deficiency by survey and patent to the previously surveyed thirty acres of "Keene's Pasture," located between the Hungar River and Stapleforts Creek. The deficiency brought this tract to forty acres.[22] Some months later, Keene procured the thirty-acre "Keene's Inclosure," situated on the western shore of Stapleforts Creek and the eastern side of Keene's Point. The quitrent for this land patented on October 14, 1741, was £0.1.2 1/2.[23]

Meanwhile, Benjamin purchased several tracts from private individuals. On August 11, 1737, he bought for £15 from James Moadsly, a Dorchester planter, the hundred-acre "Brown's Conclusion" on the south side of Slaughter Creek.[24] Five years later, on November 26, 1742, he purchased for £50 the hundred-acre "Brown's Landing" from William and Mary Robinson of Dorchester. Located on Brown's Creek on the southeast side of Slaughter Creek, the parcel was contiguous to Brown's Conclusion.[25] Upon personal inspection of these lands, Benjamin Keene, now referred to as both a planter and a gentleman in the deeds, became apprehensive that the original survey might contain errors, including some surplus or vacancy. Wishing to correct the errors, include the surplus and add the vacancy, Keene asked that a special warrant be issued to resurvey the tracts and reduce the whole into one. Granted the warrant on July 18, 1744, the resurvey was made, but the patent did not become official until August 2, 1745. With the original property and the added vacancy, the renamed land, "Keene's Landing," consisted of 416 acres, 216 more than the original survey. For the added acreage Keene paid £10.16.0, along with a quitrent of £0.16.8.[26]

About the same time, Keene and two of his brothers, Ezekiel and Zebulon, became involved in other land transactions. On August 16, 1744, Benjamin added to his holdings "Keene's Addition," a fifty-acre parcel on Stapleforts Creek contiguous to "Keene's Inclosure."[27] Originally the option to the land belonged to Ezekiel,[28] but before the patent was finalized Ezekiel gave Benjamin all right to the grant. The quitrent was set at £0.2.0.[29] Several years later a certificate of survey for "Keene's Barrons" was granted by the proprietary to Benjamin and Zebulon Keene. This 563-acre area on the east side of Slaughter Creek consisted of several parcels combined into one tract. The patent became official on August 17, 1747. As it worked out, Zebulon received 430 acres, while Benjamin held on to 133. His quitrent amounted to £0.5.4.[30]

Benjamin's land acquisitions continued apace throughout the remainder of the decade. On March 11, 1747, he bought the ten-acre "Pearson's Privilege" for £10 from Noah and Sarah Pearson. The tract was located on the east side of the northwest fork of the Blackwater River.[31] On August 20, 1748, Keene obtained

the seventy-four-acre "Hogg Range" on the east side of the northwest branch of the Blackwater. Rent on this patent was three shillings.[32] On November 30 of the same year he patented the ninety-two-acre "Keene's Delight" located on the west side of the Great Beaver Dam off the Blackwater Road. The quitrent was £0.3.8 1/2.[33]

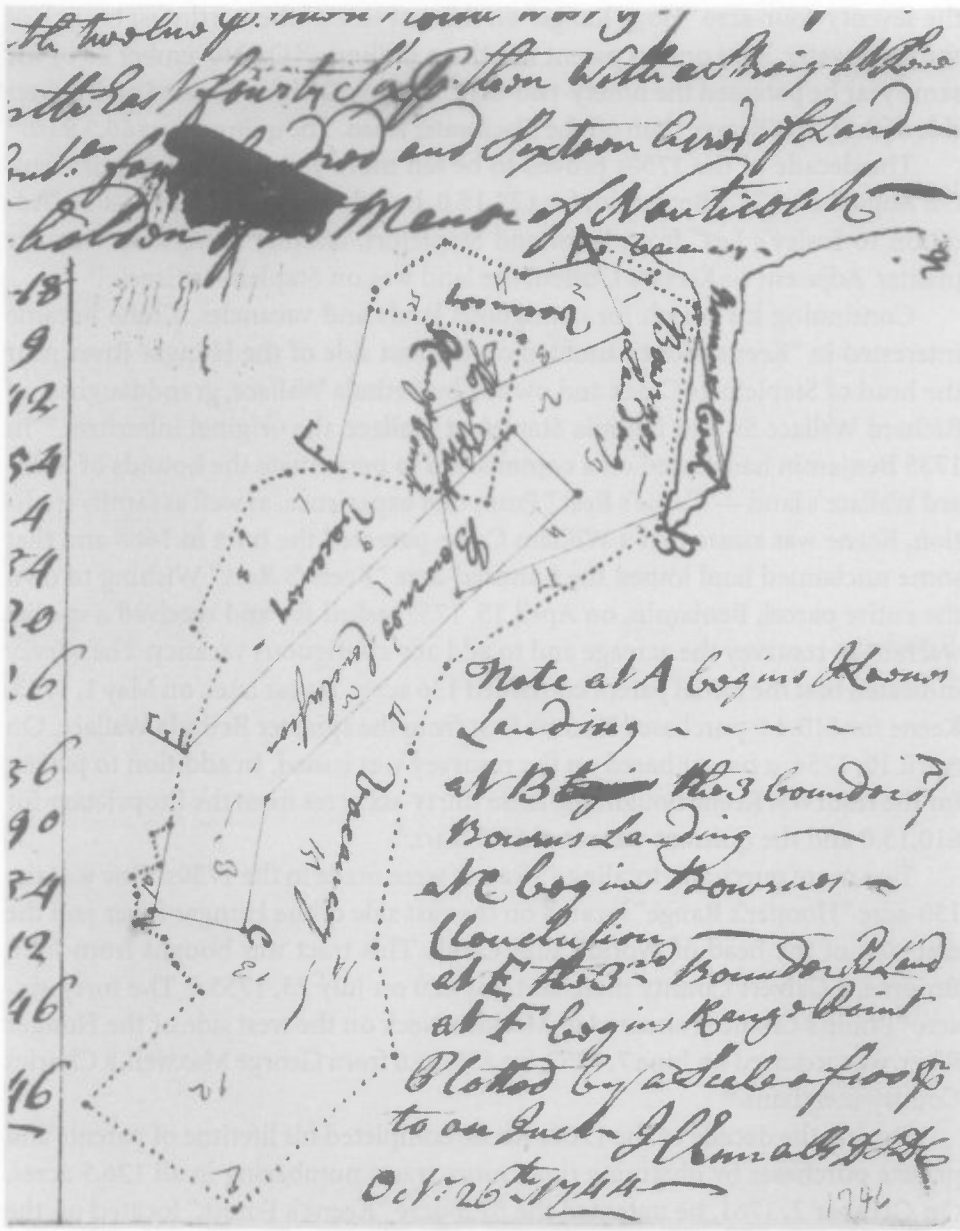
The decade of the 1750s proved to be ten more years of land acquisitions. On August 26, 1752, Benjamin, for £22.15.0, bought the twenty-three-acre "Addition to Insley's Lot" from Raymond Staplefort, another Dorchester County planter. Adjacent to Keene's Outlett, the land was on Stapleforts Creek.[34]

Continuing his search for contiguous lands and vacancies, Keene became interested in "Keene's Rest," situated on the east side of the Hungar River near the head of Stapleforts Creek and owned by Bethula Wallace, granddaughter of Richard Wallace Sr. and Bethula Staplefort Wallace, the original inheritrix.[35] In 1735 Benjamin had served on a commission to perpetuate the bounds of Richard Wallace's land—"Caine's Rest." From that experience, as well as family tradition, Keene was aware that a William Caine patented the tract in 1668 and that some unclaimed land joined the hundred-acre "Keene's Rest." Wishing to own the entire parcel, Benjamin, on April 15, 1752, asked for and received a special warrant to resurvey the acreage and to add any contiguous vacancy. The survey indicated that the initial patent contained 136 acres. A year later, on May 1, 1753, Keene for £10.4.6 purchased Keene's Rest from the spinster Bethula Wallace. On April 10, 1754, a patent based on the resurvey was issued. In addition to paying for the resurvey, Keene bought the extra thirty-six acres from the Proprietary for £10.15.0 and the quitrent was set at £0.5.5 1/2.[36]

Two more purchases totaling 196 acres were made in the 1750s. One was the 150-acre "Hooper's Range" located on the east side of the Hungar River and the east side of the head of World's End Creek. This tract was bought from John Broome, a Calvert County merchant, for £20 on July 23, 1755.[37] The forty-six-acre "Philip's Chance," situated in Meekins Neck on the west side of the Hungar River, was acquired on June 7, 1757, for £39.15.0 from George Maxwell, a Charles County merchant.[38]

During the decade of the 1760s Keene completed his lifetime of patents and private purchases by obtaining three more tracts numbering in all 126.5 acres. On October 7, 1761, he patented the 87.5-acre "Keene's Forest," located on the east side of the road from Black Bridge to Taylors Island. Rent was set at £0.3.6.[39] On September 29, 1763, a resurvey of Keene's Pasture increased its acreage from forty to sixty. The quitrent was established at £0.2.5.[40] Finally, the nineteen-acre Keene's Horse Pasture on the south side of Keene's home, Clark's Outhold, was patented on August 1, 1765, with a rent of £0.0.9 1/2. This was Keene's last land acquisition.[41]

Dorchester men bought and sold land freely to make money, to add contiguous lands to their plantations and to acquire more fertile and better acreage.



One of several certificates of patent for Keene lands. These tracts enabled Keene to market tobacco, corn, wheat, and flax. (Maryland State Archives.)

With the exception of 100.5 acres, which Keene sold in three parcels, he retained or gave to his sons all the land he had purchased, patented, or inherited. Some thirty-three years after receiving his first deed and eighteen years after his first patent, on August 26, 1752, Benjamin sold to Thomas Deane, a neighbor, 17.5 acres of "Keene's Landing" for £14.2.0.[42] No reason was given for the sale, al-

though the possibility exists that family connections might have played a part.

Nine years later, on June 11, 1761, Robert Callinder, a Dorchester planter, purchased three acres of Keene's Rest from Benjamin for forty shillings and a thousand clapboards.[43] That Keene was willing to take the clapboards as partial payment certainly indicates his trading propensity.

Finally on November 14, 1766, for £40, Benjamin sold eighty acres of "Keene's Neck," part of the land deeded him by his parents, to Raymond Shenton, a Dorchester planter. Several years before this sale, Keene, who wanted a clear deed, had discovered that the certificate of survey for Keene's Neck to Richard Keene, Benjamin's grandfather, had been returned to the land office and there entered on record as of May 30, 1668, but was now missing. Following a search for the missing patent, Benjamin petitioned for and received one on May 25, 1763. The new patent was assigned a quitrent of £0.5.0. It described the boundaries of the 250-acre tract which the Keenes had owned for seventy-five years.[44]

From 1719 to 1765 Benjamin Keene had acquired 1,896 acres of land in Dorchester County in twenty-one transactions by purchase, patent and gift. He had procured 529 acres in seven private purchases, and in twelve proprietary patents accumulated 1017.5 additional acres. The two tracts of land deeded him by his parents made up the remaining 350 acres.

For nearly half a century the price of Dorchester land remained remarkably stable. Keene paid little more for his last purchase than for his first. The 529 acres purchased privately amounted to £167.14.6 or about six and one-half shillings per acre. Less attractive land could be bought for two and one-half shillings. When a dwelling house was part of the property, the cost increased to about twenty shillings an acre, depending on the condition of the house. As noted, almost half of Keene's land was patented. His average patent was eighty-five acres, while the average size of his private purchase amounted to seventy-five acres. His smallest patent was nineteen acres; his largest 563 acres. His smallest private purchase was ten acres, the largest 150 acres. Several patents involved re-surveys where acreage was added. For this, the charge usually paid was two shillings per acre. The quitrents on the patented land were calculated at £2.9.11.[45] Doubtless, land acquisition by patent was still the easiest, most convenient, and the cheapest way for Dorchester planters to increase their land holdings in the eighteenth century.

Like other gentlemen of some means, Benjamin Keene Sr. while living distributed tracts of land to several of his sons. Giving land in this manner was not only practical, it must have been satisfying for the elder Keene. John and Matthew were the first to benefit from their father's generosity. Their land deeds were signed in February and recorded on March 14, 1755. Henry Travers and John Jones acted as both witnesses and justices. The nineteen-year-old John was the recipient of the ninety-two-acre "Keene's Delight," which was nothing but

raw land when the patent was issued.[46] Matthew received one hundred acres of Keene's Landing, located in the Armitage Hundred. Each son was given the land in consideration for the love and good will of Benjamin Keene Sr. Mary Travers Keene as mother or wife is not mentioned. Both John and Matthew paid the conveyance fine to Lord Baltimore.[47]

Nine years passed before Keene bestowed more land on his sons. On August 15, 1764, Benjamin Jr., already well established, received his first gift. It was a magnanimous grant of 215 acres broken into four tracts including Keene's Point, Keene's Pasture, Keene's Inclosure, and Keene's Addition. [48] A year later, on June 13, 1765, John benefited again from his father's liberality when he received Keene's Rest and Addition to Insley's Lott, in all 155.75 acres. John paid the alienation fine of £0.6.2.[49] Further, on November 11, 1766, Keene deeded to his grandson Lewis Griffith, son of Thomas and Rebecca Keene Griffith, the 150-acre Hooper's Range .[50] On June 15, 1769, Matthew received the remaining 298.5 acres of Keene's Landing on the south side of Slaughter Creek.[51] This was the last deed of gift the elder Keene would make.

The 784.5 acres still owned by Benjamin Keene Sr. in 1769 on which he paid an a quitrent of £1.18.1 1/2 were bequeathed through his will.[52] Henry, the eldest son, was remembered in this manner and not by a deed of gift. Indeed, by will Henry obtained Clark's Outhold, Keene's Barrons, Keene's Neck, Keene's Horse Pasture, and Keene's Outlett, 567 acres in all.[53] Matthew acquired Hogg Range and Parson's Privilege, some eighty-four acres. These lands brought Matthew's total acreage to 482.5.[54] The 87.5 acre Keene's Forest was divided between John and Benjamin Jr. In all, John received 291.5 acres from his father, and Benjamin Jr. acquired 258.75.[55] The forty-six-acre Phillips Chance was bequeathed to Levin T. Phillips, another grandson.[56] Although the total acreages distributed to each son varied widely, it would be fair to assume that the value of each son's legacy was about equal.

Although the land gifts and will bequests were certainly considerable, only a relatively small proportion of the land, about 15 percent, was cleared and suitable for cultivation. Indeed, not only Keene's holdings, but much of the other acreage in western Dorchester was marshy, low lying and made up of poor clay soil. Large areas, too, were covered by dense pine and white oak forests, which, of course, with the passage of years, became valuable sources of timber. Patents and deeds attest to the condition of the soil and the make up of the land. Intensive farming thus was out of the question except in certain locations. To be profitable most land had to be ditched.

Despite Benjamin Keene's local prominence, records pertaining to his personal life are few. He married twice, the first time about 1722 to Mary Travers,[57] daughter of Matthew Travers Sr., a slaveowner and extensive landholder of Taylors Island,[58] and granddaughter of William and Elizabeth Chaplin Travers.[59] Chil-

dren born to Benjamin and Mary and recognized in his will were: Sarah Tubman, Henry, Benjamin Jr., Elizabeth Griffith, John, Matthew, Rebecca Griffith, Mary Woolford, and Christiana Keene.[60] Another daughter whose name is unknown must have been born around 1733. She married into the Phillips family and had a son Levin T. Phillips, recognized by Benjamin in his will. Other children may have been born to the couple, but they either died in infancy or failed to outlive Benjamin.[61]

Sometime between 1765 and 1767, probably several years after the death of Mary Travers Keene, Benjamin married a second time. His new wife, Mary Stevens McKeel, a cousin of Mary Travers, was the daughter of Priscilla Hooper Stevens Howe and the deceased planter John Stevens.[62] Mary McKeel was the widow of the Dorchester County planter and justice of the peace Captain Thomas McKeel, who died in 1762.[63] Mother of the three McKeel children, Mary, Thomas, and John, Mary was comfortably well off with land, slaves and home furnishings. Indeed, following the settlement of accounts, McKeel's personal property, valued at £406.1.10 1/2, was divided between Mary and her children. Bequeathed four slaves by her husband, Mary also had custody of those slaves willed to her children until they married or reached the age of eighteen. "Spocott," McKeel's home, and "Wormer's Chance" were to be shared by Mary and son John in equal partnership during Mary's lifetime.[64]

Almost from the beginning something was amiss in the marital relationship between Benjamin and Mary McKeel. It was openly expressed on July 30, 1767, when Benjamin's item that Mary Keene had eloped appeared in the *Maryland Gazette*.[65] Nothing further is known about the incident, although in 1769 the Keenes were living as man and wife.[66] The apparent hostility of Mary's mother, Priscilla Stevens Howe, toward Benjamin was frankly stated in her will of March 30, 1769:

> I give unto my loving daughter Mary Keene the use of my chaise horse called Blaze and my riding chaise and a debt due from Benjamin Keene to Mr. Robert Howe's estate and my will is that my daughter shall hold and enjoy the aforesaid legacy during her pleasure and that her husband Benjamin Keene shall not have any right or title whatsoever thereto but that my said daughter shall whenever she thinks proper give away the aforesaid legacy to her daughter Mary McKeel and to no other person whatsoever.[67]

In the months before Benjamin died, relations between the couple continued strained. In his will Benjamin never referred to Mary as his loving wife nor was she named executrix. In one of Keene's final bequests he merely wrote, "I give and bequeath unto my wife Mary Keene two feather beds and furniture to

them." He also stated that these "be countable in her thirds of my estate."[68] He thus made certain that Mary would inherit no more than the law allowed.

In addition to buying and patenting land, overseeing his plantations, and managing his store, Keene served as one of the eleven justices of the peace for Dorchester County. Watching his father handle the affairs of office must have appealed to the young Benjamin for when a vacancy occurred he sought the position and probably around 1734 was appointed to that office.[69]

The position was time consuming, but as a gentleman justice he was following in the tradition of his father. Justices were chosen from gentlemen whose families were well known, admired, and respected in the county. Usually a man held the office for life. Residents of Dorchester respected the justices, who seemed to know as much about soils as statutes.[70] According to an oath taken by a justice in Virginia, he was to "judge wisely and justly, to commit no wrong for gift or gain, to furnish no counsel in a case being tried and to deal fairly with the poor as well as the rich."[71] A position of honor in the county in the eighteenth century, a justice was held in high esteem. The county held monthly courts the first Tuesday in January, March, June, August, September, and November. The court was presided over by the commissioners or the justices of the peace appointed by the Proprietary. These courts exercised jurisdiction in certain civil and criminal cases and attended to other matters of local concern.[72] More specifically and among other duties the justices were

> to keep the peace within the county, according to the laws of England; to hand out punishment and hold in custody those who misbehave; to inquire into witchcraft enchantments, sorcerer's art, magic, etc; investigate any abuse of weights and measures or in selling any liquors not according to the form, force and effect of the Acts of the Assembly for the common good.[73]

The court met at Cambridge in a two-story building forty feet long and twenty-two feet wide. The structure stood near the site of the present Dorchester County Court House on High Street and Court Lane. During Keene's tenure court days were times for relaxation and amusement as well as for law and justice. All manner of people were in attendance.[74]

Keene's first appearance as a justice occurred on November 14, 1734. On that day he and Henry Travers sat as justices when Matthew Travers sold to Dorchester planter Andrew Lord "Travers Chance."[75] For the next thirty-five years Keene served diligently, faithfully, and honorably the people of Dorchester, the Crown and the Proprietary. The last record extant of Benjamin's active participation in his office was on August 9, 1769, when he and Henry Ennals were witnesses as well as justices to a deed in which Roger and Betty Woolford sold

The first Dorchester County Courthouse, where Benjamin Keene served as a justice of the peace. (Jones, History of Dorchester County *[Baltimore: The Read & Taylor Press, 1925].)*

"Woolford's Foresight" to one Thomas Jones. That same day Keene witnessed and acknowledged as justice the John and Thomas Fitzhugh deed to Robert Goldsborough for the eighteen-acre "Fitzhugh's Range."[76] Due to ill health Keene missed the September and November court days of 1769. Several months after his last court appearance he wrote his will.[77]

Over the years Keene served on many commissions appointed to hear and to settle land disputes which were much in evidence at a time when boundaries were marked by trees, rocks, and natural objects. Commissions, too, handled questions that had to do with the inordinate number of cases involving orphans. Making up the first commission on which Keene served were Tobias Pollard, John Robson, William Grantham, and Keene. On November 24, 1732, they heard the evidence and ruled on the bounds of land of William Robinson Jr.[78] Some twenty-two years and numerous commissions later, on August 11, 1761, Keene, along with Henry Travers, Thomas Craton, and Henry Keene, sat on a commission to perpetuate the bounds of John Phillips' land.[79] With the experience gained in his own land transactions, as well as his handling of deeds and cases as a justice, Keene brought a calmness, a fairness, and a knowledge of land matters to each commission to which he was appointed. Service as a member of a commission was a civic duty understood by all to be especially important to a free people.

Throughout his life Keene provided Dorchester County with leadership and

an understanding of the problems that cried out for settlement and improvement. Probably no issue was more frequently talked about or agonized over than that of internal improvements, including the maintenance of ferries and the construction of roads and bridges. As the land around the creeks and rivers was settled, people moved inland. Those families needed some sort of highway system. As residents of Taylors Island and the Slaughter Creek area, the Keenes were active in the pursuit of ferry service to link Taylors Island with the Blackwater Road and the interior of Dorchester. When in 1728 a petition was sought for such a ferry, the Keenes—Benjamin, Richard, Henry, Zebulon, Edward, and Ezekiel—were in the forefront of the movement. Somewhat later two ferry routes were established. The first crossed Slaughter Creek on the northwest side of Taylors Island, thereby linking Taylors Island Road with the Blackwater Road to the east. A second crossed Punch Island Creek on the northwest side of Taylors Island. This linked the Meekins Neck Road out of Hooper Island to the Blackwater Road to the interior.[80]

Benjamin Keene loved land. It was wealth of course, but he must have enjoyed assembling his patents and making his purchases. With his experience in the valuation of property, in knowledge of the soil, in boundaries and with the people who owned the land, he was acutely aware of the land's importance to the financial welfare of the community. Daily he made decisions affecting the operation of his plantations and the use of his land. As early as 1725 he was referred to as a planter, which then meant that he raised tobacco. Owning only 350 acres at the time, he must have farmed the profitable ones, cut some timber, and dug drainage ditches in the low lying fields. Assisting him were slaves and/or hired laborers. While raising tobacco as his cash crop, and there is every reason to believe that he did, for his father had 1,300 pounds on hand from this acreage in 1723, he doubtless grew some wheat, corn, flax and even barley and oats. As with other planters, he raised an ever increasing number of animals.[81]

In the late seventeenth century those planters raising tobacco transported their crop to a tobacco landing near the head of Fishing Creek in the Little Choptank River. By 1719 vessels from Liverpool and London called at Cambridge to discharge and take on cargo. Across the Choptank, Oxford, with its deep, land-locked harbor on the Tred Avon, had become by 1738 the center of shipping in the Chesapeake. Eight British factories as well as several local firms were established in the import-export business there. Tobacco was still the principal export, but animal pelts, wheat, pork, and lumber also were loaded at the docks. When plying these waters ships' masters undoubtedly purchased provisions from the local planters. Shipyards, too, were established, and their trade called for first-class lumber which Dorchester planters, such as Keene, possessed in abundance for ships' repair. All of this was profitable to the local planters and farmers.[82]

Keene probably was aware of this commerce and must have been active in the trade. Undoubtedly a well traveled individual, he made many trips to Cambridge for court days. Oxford and Annapolis, too, must have been a part of his itinerary as he sought business, cared for his official duties, and discussed the affairs of the day. Certainly he was aware that with tobacco culture the labor problem was only partially solved by the acquisition of slaves. When he purchased or was given his first slave is unknown. Although Benjamin's father was not a slaveowner, his father-in-law, Matthew Travers, owned many. In 1739 Matthew Travers gave three slaves to his daughter and son-in-law, but Benjamin probably owned slaves prior to that year.[83] Three years later as a bequest in his grandfather Travers' will, Benjamin Jr. received a black girl.[84] In 1749, Thomas Chapman sold to the senior Keene a black man named Sam.[85] Thus, in one way or another over the years, the number of slaves Keene owned increased until at his death he could name fourteen, eight males and six females. They were valued in his inventory at £471.[86]

Dorchester County slaves worked hard. During the winter much time was spent threshing grain, dressing flax, erecting fences, ditching, cutting firewood, clearing fields, trimming fruit trees, slaughtering hogs, and caring for newborn lambs. Beginning in March, plowing, a specialized trade handled by those with experience, was almost continuous. The marsh was burned and the gardens, both for the Keene household as well as the slaves, were planted. Raising and growing tobacco, of course, was a full-time task from its planting to harvesting. By April flax and potatoes were in, while in May corn was planted and the sheep were sheared. This, too, was the time of the year to tap the bounty of the waters. In the summer they made hay, tended corn, pulled flax and cut field crops. Fruit ripened. In the fall slaves harvested crops, gathered fodder, and husked corn. They picked apples for cider and gathered hay again. Oysters were in season and shucking could have been a daily task. Fall was not only a time for gathering in but a time to make preparations for the winter.[87]

By 1750, as the supply of white male laborers to the Eastern Shore declined, the price of slaves increased. Tobacco became less profitable, especially for the small farmer unable to compete with his wealthier neighbors. With the French and Indian War and the consequent slowdown in trade, Dorchester tobacco production declined. Eventually, wheat took its place as the money crop, while cattle and timber became the new exports to the West Indies. In this changing environment the small farmer needed someone local who knew him and, if necessary, could extend him credit, as he traded his products and waited for the next harvest.

Some Chesapeake plantation owners supplemented their incomes by operating plantation stores where area small farmers and planters traded. Tenants and others who relied on tobacco depended upon these owners to assist them

financially until the next growing season.[88] The observant Keene saw this as an opportunity. Knowing that the large Dorchester and Talbot planters shipped their tobacco directly to England, while the small planter, farmer, and tenant sold to the local buyer, Keene believed that establishing a plantation store would be profitable. He then would be the middleman, the buyer, the banker, and the storekeeper for smaller planters. At the same time he could raise tobacco and wheat and increase the size of his herds on his own plantations. Therefore, around 1757 or 1758, Keene must have opened a general store in a building near his home. Here a limited supply of articles needed by his customers were traded for the products they grew.[89]

Judging from the quantity of items, Keene kept his inventory heavily in products which were in demand and which could be sold profitably. Distinguishing in the inventory between the items for sale and those for plantation use is difficult. However, some of the following might have been for sale: white stone plates, new tinware, plates, dishes, window glass, teaspoons, barrels, casks, bottles, glasses, chairs, trunks, feathers, leather, broadcloth, sheeting, nails, iron, and wheels.[90]

Doubtless Keene traded in tobacco although only 1,676 pounds were inventoried at his death. This tobacco was from the Keene plantations, for Benjamin Jr. pointed out in his first accounting that he was reimbursed for his trouble and expense in reaping and clearing the crop of wheat and packing the tobacco left by the deceased. [91] The tobacco was awaiting shipment. Maryland law required that tobacco be ready for export in May. No shipments were to be made between August 30 and November 25.

Other evidence of Keene's business activity was the rather large amount of cash on hand following his death. Valued at £47.3.10, the money consisted of 36 1/2 Spanish dollars, 31 Spanish pistoles, 20 1/2 grains of gold and some small change.[92]

But more than any other factor supporting the contention that Keene was a storekeeper, a merchant, and even a banker may be found in a second inventory submitted by his executor. It spelled out debts of £117.6.1 owed Keene by 145 men of Dorchester County. Accounts of 131 of these amounted to less than one pound each, indicating the nature of the trade. Of this number 77 or 59 percent were planters. Among the others were six merchants, five ship masters, three physicians, three justices (all of whom were planters but not counted above), two mariners, two overseers, two carpenters and one each of the following—shoemaker, blacksmith, cooper, clergyman, joyner, attorney, shipwright and bricklayer. Indeed, the Keene debtors were a cross-section of Dorchester inhabitants. Of the 131 debtors, twenty-three neither bought nor sold land between 1756 and 1770 and might be considered tenants. On the list were neighbors, relatives, and friends. Of the 131 debtors, all but three of the debts were considered by the executor to be uncollectable for reasons unknown.[93]

The other fourteen debtors owed Keene considerably more. Ennals Hooper

and Colonel Henry Travers were paying off larger loans of which £30 and £5.5.0, respectively were still obligated. James Murray, a wealthy merchant and large landholder, and Robert Howe, landholder and justice of the peace, owed in excess of £12 each. William Stevens (£4.6.0), William Travers (£4.19.0) and the Reverend William Clows (£5.1.4 1/2) were also debtors. Twelve other Dorchester men owed the estate between one and three pounds. They were Nehemiah Covington, David Boxley, Levin Travers, Humphrey Hubbard, Wright Mills, John Thompson, Pearson Watt, Benjamin Travers, Tom Cole, Capewell Keene, Raymond Shenton and Raymond Stapleford. Of these men, eight were planters who owned land, the other four had no land and were probably tenants. Of all the debtors, Benjamin Keene Jr. felt that only Charles James, Tom Cole, a free black man, Raymond Staplefort, Raymond Shenton, John McKeel and Capewell Keene would pay their obligations to the estate.[94] Several others, however, did pay. Even before Keene's death, William and Nancy Dean Jr., executors of the will of Lettice Woolen, paid Keene £13.1.19 1/4.[95]

The more prosperous the planter the greater proportion of his resources were reinvested in his plantation. Investment meant improving the buildings, adding more acreage, acquiring more slaves—all of which took priority over the comfort and convenience of the owner. Regardless, Benjamin's home, while far from a mansion, was more than adequate and in fact rather imposing for the time. The two-story wooden clapboard house was complimented by a one-story wing, the whole pleasing, attractive and liveable.[96] Among its furnishings were a cupboard, chest, several tea tables, including one from Japan, sixteen chairs, several desks, a large walnut table, five beds, bedding, bedroom furniture and framed pictures. Keene's inventory also named law books, a Bible, a Prayer Book, wig box, three-quarters of a pound of paper, two money scales and weights, temple spectacles, an ivory comb, five candle sticks and tallow, silver spoons, a silver tureen, a looking glass, five trunks, three chamber pots, tongs and shovel, a pewter tankard, 44 1/2 pounds of pewter, a pair of spoon molds and Benjamin's wearing apparel. The latter was valued at £3.9.0.[97]

Even considering the likelihood that some of the following items listed were sold in the store, the kitchen was well supplied with iron pots, pans, skillets, tin ware, milk pans, a sugar box, milk pot, coffee and teapots, earthenware plates, white stone plates, china saucers, spoons, glasses, a spice mortar, chafing dish, flat and hand irons, wax and tallow, scales, a spit, clothes basket, a parcel of knives, tea kettle, wooden ware, bottles and even a mouse trap to mention most but not all of the items. A cider press and a still were inventoried but no drink of any kind was mentioned.[98]

To carry out the farm work Keene had available axes, wedges, saws, a cart, grubbing hoes, a yoke of oxen, six sickles, gears, chains, bellows, tubs, barrels, hogsheads, more than thirty-four pounds of iron, saddle trees, rope and blocks,

nails, sheep shears, two augers a large gibbet, saddle and bridle, flax brake and an iron hook lock. Considering the extent of his land holdings, Keene's tools and equipment for large scale farming were minimal. Grain production was definitely limited with just one yoke of oxen and two plows.[99]

Produce was in short supply when the inventory was completed on June 15, 1770. Among the items listed were 3 bushels of potatoes, 14 bushels of wheat, a parcel of corn, 4 3/4 pounds of flax, 6 1/2 bushels of flax seed and 1676 pounds of tobacco. In addition, 8 3/4 pounds of wool, 24 pounds of leather, 4 deer skins and 70 pounds of feathers were reported along with some lard, 113 1/2 pounds of smoked hog meat, 64 pounds of hedge-hogs and a note that flax was growing in the field. Even though no mention was made of rye, barley, and oats, one must not be mislead for the inventory was compiled in June before the new crops were harvested.[100] Even so with fourteen slaves Keene's land should have been more productive. Doubtless work in the store removed some slaves from the fields.

As with other Dorchester planters and farmers, Keene practiced crop diversification to an extent. Apparently, he was cautious about the acreage he allotted to tobacco. Unwilling to risk all on tobacco's price fluctuation, he grew both maize and wheat and probably barley and oats. Uncounted as a cash crop, most corn was consumed by the family, slaves, and animals. Some wheat may have been sold, although no evidence exists as to the exact amount. By 1770 many Dorchester farmers had turned to wheat as their cash crop. Wheat bread was not only nutritious, its presence on the table conferred some sort of social status.[101] Despite the time-consuming nature of flax cultivation, Benjamin joined the other Keenes, Capewell and Zebulon, in its expansion.[102] Lumber, too, was mentioned in the inventory but with only 593 feet of one-inch lumber and another parcel, lumber was no cash crop. However, with many trees available for harvesting, Benjamin was ready to tap that source for possible revenue. Lumber was in demand domestically as well as abroad.[103]

Outside of the inventory of 3 horses, a yoke of oxen, 19 cattle, 24 sheep and 39 hogs for a total valuation of £66, little is known of this aspect of his farming operation. In addition to the eatable qualities of his livestock, hides were tanned and his sheep were sheared. Most of the wool was used on the plantation. With plenty of yarn, wool, knitting needles and woolen wheels,[104] the skilled blacks doubtless provided the slaves of the plantation with their coarser clothing.

With only one gun and some powder and shot,[105] Keene must have relied on others for game with which to supplement the plantation's daily fare. Certainly the slaves, some of whom must have been skilled watermen, kept the Keene table as well as their own supplied with water delicacies.

On November 18, 1769, three months after attending court in Cambridge, a tired and weak Benjamin made his will. Witnessed by Zebulon Keene Jr., David

Rogers, and Priscilla Taylor, the will was probated on May 3, 1770. Little was new or unexpected at the reading. Sons Henry and Benjamin Jr. were named executors. Henry renounced his right on May 10, 1770, undoubtedly due to ill health.[106] As noted, the sons were given land, while four of the daughters, Mary Woolford, Rebecca Griffith, Elizabeth Griffith, and Sara Tubman, received money. The youngest child, Christiana, along with Matthew, John and Benjamin shared equally in the residue of their father's estate.[107]

An inventory was compiled on June 15, 1770, by John Bennett and John Rudd, but the document was not sworn to and submitted to the court by the executor, Benjamin Jr., until November 15, 1770. No reason was given for the delay. Excluding land, the estate was valued at £718.13.10 1/2.[108] But then on August 26, 1771, because of the submission of two lists of Keene debtors, the value of the estate was increased by £6.2.10 1/2. Out of a total debt of £ 117.6.1 due the estate, slightly more than £6 was all that was collectable.[109]

Not until November 30, 1772, was the estate finally settled and all the legacies distributed according to the provisions of the will. Daughters Mary and Rebecca received £10 each, while Elizabeth and Sara each collected £0.1.8. Christiana, Matthew, John and Benjamin each obtained £108.5.15 5/8 for their fourth part. The widow Mary received £226.11.11 1/2 as her share. All of Keene's debts were paid including the largest one of £15.1.8 1/2 to Robert Harrison, merchant and planter of Dorchester.[110]

Benjamin Keene Sr., was neither a political giant, nor a military hero, nor even a wealthy planter in the Edward Lloyd mold. But he was a man of substance and means, an industrious, clear thinking individual who had a stake in Dorchester County's growth and development. He was in that 6 percent of Dorchester landholders who held more than ten slaves. He belonged to that select 1 percent of the Dorchester population owning 1,800 acres or more of land. Certainly one of the elite of Dorchester during the time in which he lived, Benjamin Keene Sr. earned his place in the history of the county as a gentleman planter, banker, merchant, storekeeper, justice of the peace, and a communicant of the Anglican Church on Fishing Creek.

NOTES

1. The Maryland line of the Keene family can be traced to a John and William Le Kene, who in 1271 signed several land transactions at Kietcham, Surrey County, England. Edward Keene, grandfather of Richard, the first of the line in Maryland, married Alice Ripley on May 23, 1585, in Worplesdon, Surrey, England. One of their eleven children was Henry Keene, baptized on June 2, 1595, in Surrey. Edward died on January 23, 1633/4 but not before his son Henry married Anne Halle on November 30, 1623. The couple had at least six children, one of whom was Richard Keene baptized on December 7, 1628.

Henry's sons were educated by tutors. While still young men, three of the brothers, Henry, Richard and Edward, departed Surrey on the ship *Confidence,* John Gibson, captain, and arrived in Maryland in February 1653/4. Henry, the eldest, received 150 acres of land for transporting his brothers and himself. Settling on the north shore of the Patuxent River near the Chesapeake Bay, the brothers possessed the means with which to purchase land. Men of ability and influence, Henry and Edward became government officials, while Richard became a landholder and slaveowner and a man of some wealth and influence.

Richard married Mary Hodgkins, widow of John Hodgkins, sometime between 1653 and 1656. This union produced two living children, Richard Jr. and John. Mary Hodgkins Keene was a brave, charming, witty, tasteful and ambitious woman. Whether she helped cement the relationship between Richard Keene Sr. and Charles Calvert is not known, but over the years the two men became close personal friends. Richard acquired 10,000 acres of land in grants and patents. Other acreage was purchased privately. On February 6, 1671/2, Richard bought "Clark's Outhold" in Dorchester County and later surveyed and then patented "Keene's Neck" on May 30, 1688, in the same county. Thus he owned land on both sides of the Chesapeake.

The Keenes' social life swirled around "St. Richard's Manor." Even Lord Baltimore and his council met there on several occasions. Owning this estate brought privileges to Richard and later Richard Jr. when ownership passed to him. In his will Richard Sr. gave to Mary, even if she should marry, all his land, stock, servants, goods, chattels on the north side of the Patuxent, as well as his money, tobacco and goods in England and one third of his silver plate.

The loss of many records makes sketching Richard Keene Sr.'s life difficult. See Alice Norris Parran, ed., Maryland's *Register of Heraldic Families,* 1934-36, 2 vols. (Baltimore: H. G. Roebuck and Son, 1938), 2:192; Hester Dorsey Richardson, "Keene Family History in the United States," in Elias Jones, *Keene Family History and Genealogy* (Baltimore: Press of Kohn and Pollack, Inc., 1923), 27–32; Calvert County, Land Records, Liber ABH, folio 381, June 26, 1654, Maryland Hall of Records, Annapolis (Hereafter referred to as HR); William Hand Browne et al., *Archives of Maryland,* 73 vols. to date (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1883–), 15:47; Dorchester County Land Records (hereafter cited as DCLR) 3 Old 212, 6 February 1671/2; Warrants of Early Settlers, Liber 4 folio 589 in HR; Chancery Proceedings, Liber PL, folio 974–75 in HR, deposition of John Keene, Sr.; Prerogative Court (Wills) 2, 384–86, Richard Keene, February 7, 1675/6 (hereafter cited as Wills) in HR; Calvert Papers, 2:286, HR.

2. John and Mary Hodgkins arrived in Maryland from England in 1651 to make their home in Calvert County. Shortly thereafter John died. Seeing this as his opportunity, Richard Keene courted and then married Mary. Whether Mary brought to the marriage money or land is unknown. On February 28, 1659/60 Charles Calvert granted 300 acres of land called "Warbleston" to Richard Keene and Mary "his wife," the relic of John Hodgkin. Seldom was a patent written wherein the patentee's name is given along with his wife. It seems to justify the importance that Mary played in Richard's life. In 1672, Mary accompanied Richard Sr. to England. Here they remained for more than a year. Following their return to Maryland and after Richard's death, Mary married a John Griggs of Calvert County by March 12, 1676/7. Calvert County, Land Records, Liber 4, folio 538; ibid., Liber ABH, folio 141; Chancery Proceedings, Liber PL 3, folio 974–75; Wills 2, 384–85, Richard Keen, February 7, 1675/6; Calvert County Land Records, Liber 15, folio 307, John Griggs of Calvert County.

3. Chancery Proceedings, Liber PL 3, folio 974–75, Deposition of John Keene Sr.

4. Richardson, "Keene Family History," 27–32.

5. Wills 2, 384–86, Richard Keen, February 7, 1675/6. John also received from St. Richard's Manor two beds and furniture, six pewter dishes and a dozen pewter plates, two iron pots, a gun, two dozen napkins, six pillow cases, a table cloth, two tables and six leather chairs.
6. Land Office (Patents), MS 2, 483–85, March 1, 1686/7, (Hereafter cited (PATENTS).
7. DCLR 14 Old 89, August 15, 1746–September 1, 1746. This is a deposition of Richard Keene, the eldest son of John and Mary Keene, in which he said that he was 64 years of age. Parran, *Register of Heraldic Families,* 2:192.
8. Wills, 18, pp. 184–85, John Keene, November 14, 1723. Depending on the interests of the children and the money available at the time, the Keenes were always interested in education. John was taught by tutors. There is little reason that he would do less for his children. It was said in the family that the Keenes had beautiful manners. "The men were raised to be gentlemen—that is they sat a horse well, danced well and shot a gun well." Mary E. Keene to Homer Bast, April 5, 1989. As a direct descendant of Benjamin Keene, and a resident of Dorchester, Mary was an invaluable source in the writing of this paper.

Captain John had seven sons. Information about Richard, John, Edward, and Henry are included below, while notations on the other three sons are in the narrative and the footnotes. Considered the oldest of Captain John's children, Richard (1682–c1757) married Susanna Pollard on November 4, 1717 and had Pollard (1715–87), Richard (1717–1786), Reverend John (1720–?), Susan (1721–86), Hopewell (1724–1818), Reverend William (1728–99), Marcellus (1730–1800), Vachel (1733–1800), Reverend Samuel (1735–1810), Thomas B. (1737–1804), and Ann (1741–1813). Richard served on numerous commissions in Dorchester. A gentleman planter, he and his wife acquired from her parents, slaves as well as 642 acres of land around Taylors Island. Richard sold his lands in 1748 and moved to Baltimore County.

John (1690–1759) married a Mary (maiden name unknown) and had Rebecca (Elliot), Aquilla, Priscilla (Pattison), Mary (Patterson), Elinor and Thomas. At John's death he left to each of his children one shilling and to his wife one "negro man". John served as a witness to several deeds. He was not as successful financially as were his brothers and, indeed, the records show him owning no land. He must have leased land from other Dorchester landholders.

Edward's date of birth is unknown as is his wife Ann's maiden name. His marriage produced several children, Edward, Jr., Ezehiah, Phillip and Ann Phillips. From his father, Captain John, he inherited his home place "Keene's Neglect". He was appointed to various commissions and served as a witness in court. He owned a mill and a still. Edward signed his mark as did John and Henry. Edward's will was probated August 13, 1754.

Henry (1697–1750) married Mary Robson, daughter of William Robson and Jane Pollard. The couple had only one child, a son, William. Before Henry died, the son of Captain John, acquired "Pleasant Point," "Henry's Delight," "Robson's Cove," and "Harper's Delight," in all about 386 acres and most from his father-in-law. Henry owned four or more slaves. He recognized his grandson Henry, and realized that William would die shortly.
9. PATENTS MS 2, 483–85, March 1, 1686/7, John Keene of Calvert County; DCLR 1 Old 124, October 25, 1690, John Keene, a witness in Dorchester; Calvert County (Land Records) 5:61, January 12, 1694/5, James Milliken of Calvert sent John Keene of Dorchester a power of attorney.
10. DCLR 1 Old 124, October 25, 1691; ibid., 5 Old 60, June 4, 1695; ibid., 6 Old 255, William and Jane Robson to Daniel Lawrence, August 6, 1715, states that John Keene was the attorney for Lawrence. Other deeds may be cited indicating that John Keene was the attorney.

11. Ibid., 6 Old 14, August 4, 1703; ibid., 8 Old 73, October 2, 1722. Additional deeds may be cited to confirm John's longevity as a justice.
12. Ibid., 6 Old 211, John People of Dorchester County and Jane his wife to John Cole, planter, September 3, 1712. In this deed John Keene Sr. is referred to as an attorney as well as Captain John Keene.
13. Ibid., 2 Old 26, John Keene Sr. and his wife Mary to Benjamin Keene, March 9, 1719/20. The deed indicates that "Clark's Outhold" was the grantors' "dwelling plantation."
14. Effie Gwynn Bowie, *Across the Years in Prince George's County* (Richmond: Garrett and Massie, 1947), 485; Calvin W. Mowbray, *First Dorchester Families* (Silver Spring, Md.: Family Line Publications, 1984), 1:85. Both sources throw some light on the birth of Benjamin. DCLR 6 Old 211, John and Jane People to John Cole, September 3, 1712, cites one of the early appearances of Benjamin in court.
15. DCLR 2 Old 26, March 9, 1719/20, John Keene Sr. and Mary his wife to their son Benjamin Keene. The deed was acknowledged and witnessed on March 9 before Henry Ennalls and Charles Nutter, Justices. Ibid., 3 Old 242, February 6, 1671/2, Richard Keene of Calvert County, Inholder purchased "Clark's Outhold."
16. Ibid., 2 Old 32, John Keene Sr. And Mary to their son Benjamin, November 17, 1720. Witnesses were Thomas Hooper and James Butte, while Roger Woolford and John Robson were the justices.
17. Ibid., 8 Old 32, John Keene Sr. to Edward Keene, August 12, 1723. Confirmation of Mary's death may be seen in this deed. Prior to Edward's grant both John and Mary had given the land. Edward's brother Zebulon served as a witness.
18. PATENTS MS 2, 483–85, March 1, 1686/7, John Keene of Calvert County; Wills 2, 384–86, Richard Keene, February 7, 1675/6; Ibid., 18 pp. 184–85, John Keene, November 14, 1723. On January 12, 1722/3, Captain John Keene made his will. No mention was made of Mary, his wife. It may be assumed that she died sometime between 1720 and January 1722/3. Richard, John, Sarah, Henry and Benjamin were willed one shilling each. Edward received "Keene's Neglect," while Ezekiel and Zebulon shared their father's personal estate valued at £109.19.10.
19. DCLR, 26 Old no pp., Benjamin Keene to Zebulon Keene, January 11, 1725/6; Lord Baltimore's Rent Rolls for Dorchester County, 10, vol. 2 in HR; PATENTS, PL 7, 106–7, Zebulon Keene of Dorchester County and "Keene's Venture," August 19, 1729.

Zebulon Keene, brother of Benjamin and youngest son of John and Mary Keene, was born in 1701 in Dorchester. Around 1725, Zebulon married Mary Robson, daughter of Charles and Mary Robson, a planter of Dorchester. By this marriage and at the time of his death in 1771, Zebulon had six living children: Richard, Zebulon Jr., Capewell, Ezekiel, Mary (Keene) and Kezia (Stevens). A grown son Shadrack died in 1760. Zebulon Sr. was the administrator and sole heir of Shadrack's estate which was valued at £37.3.6.

On May 6, 1726, Zebulon acquired his first land, when a patent was issued to him for "Keene's Venture." Zebulon did not trade in land. What he bought, and generally it was by patent, he kept. Only two of his nine purchases were obtained privately. His patents and purchases took place over a 37-year period, 1726 to 1763. They were made up of "Keene's Venture," "Keene's Addition," "Keene's Pasture," "Stapleforts Adventure," "Keene's Barrons," "Gum Swamp," "Keene's Outlett," "Kimball's Increase," and "Keene's Enclosure," in all 977 acres.

On July 10, 1750, a case of "libel and complaint" was brought against Zebulon Sr. by Mary Keene, widow of William Keene. Zebulon lost the case and was reprimanded by Judge Daniel Dulany. This did not stop him from settling the estate of his mother-in-law shortly

thereafter. While holding no public office or military position, this Dorchester County native must have been well known. Serving on commissions to settle land disputes, acting as a witness to deeds, accepting guardianship of an orphan, he acted as an administrator in several estates, wrote wills, served as "surety" and cultivated his lands. Judging from the inventory of his estate, which was valued at £509.3.2, Zebulon had, for the most part, given up the production of tobacco at his death for wheat, corn, rye, and livestock. The value of the latter in 1771 was placed at £77 or 16 percent of Zebulon's total worth, excluding his land. Nine slaves, of whom seven were males, assisted Keene on his lands. His slaves were valued at £312, nearly two-thirds of his personal estate. See DCLR 9 Old 391, Deposition of Zebulon Keene, August 20, 1735–February 17, 1736/7; Ibid., 26 Old 396, Deposition of Zebulon Keene, March 13, 1770/1–October 20, 1770; Wills 18, 184, John Keene, November 14, 1723; Prerogative Court (Accounts) 30, 232–33, Mary Robson, May 6, 1751 (hereafter cited ACCOUNTS; Numerous land office PATENTS; Dorchester County, September Court 1750, Test Proceedings #33, 1752–53, folio 203–17, Mary Keene against Zebulon Keene, July 10, 1750; Wills 38, pp. 400–401, Zebulon Keene, August 13, 1771; Prerogative Court Inventories 107, 265–68, Zebulon Keene, November 14, 1771, (hereafter cited as INVENTORIES). Both the ACCOUNTS and INVENTORIES are found in the HR.

20. PATENTS EI 1, 366–67, Benjamin Keene and "Keene's Outlett" of June 5, 1734. In early Dorchester, Slaughter Creek completely encircled Taylors Island. Slaughter Creek included the Upper Keene Broads as well as Punch Island Creek.

21. Ibid., EI 6, 266–67, Benjamin Keene and "Keene's Point," August 13, 1740.

22. Ibid., EI 6, 343–44, Benjamin Keene and "Keene's Pasture" of December 10, 1740. This patent was actually a resurvey of the earlier patent which granted 30 acres to Keene. No record was found indicating when and how Benjamin acquired the original tract. Another patent secured later expanded "Keene's Pasture" again. Ibid., BC and GC 22, 56–58, Benjamin Keene and "Keene's Pasture," September 29, 1763. It might be well to say here that Stapleforts Creek was known by three other names—Russell Creek, Kings Cabin Creek and Wallace Creek. See C. W. Mowbray and Mary I. Mowbray, *The Early Settlers of Dorchester County and Their Lands,* 2 vols. (Cambridge, Md.: privately published, 1981), 2:21.

23. PATENTS EI 6, 511–12, Benjamin Keene and "Keene's Inclosure," August 6, 1742.

24. DCLR 9 Old 478–80, James Moadsly of Dorchester County, planter to Benjamin Keene of Dorchester County, planter, August 11, 1737.

25. Ibid., 10 Old 361–62, William Robinson Jr. and Mary his wife of Dorchester County to Benjamin Keene of the same county, Gent., November 26, 1742. Witnesses were Henry Travers and John Jones, Justices.

26. PATENTS PT #2, 173–74, Benjamin Keene of Dorchester County and "Keene's Landing," August 2, 1745. In this patent Keene is spelled "Keen."

27. Ibid., EI #6, 708, Benjamin Keene of Dorchester County and "Keene's Addition," August 16, 1744.

28. Ezekiel Keene was the son of Captain John and Mary Keene. Ezekiel married Mary Griffin, daughter of Lewis Griffin. There were no living children when Ezekiel's will was probated on March 15, 1753. Most of the estate was left to Henry, son of Benjamin Keene. Ezekiel's lands consisted of the following: "Bugsby's Hole" (50 acres), "Mary's Calf Pasture" (46 acres), "Wodsdown" (103 acres), "Wodsdown Addition" (30 acres), and "Sandy Ridge" (42 acres), in all 271 acres. Mary Keene was "to have the benefit of all the profits of all the lands during her widowhood." Ezekiel also bequeathed five slaves to Henry but said that his wife "should have the use and benefit of the Negroes during her natural life." Wills 28, 454–55, Ezekiel Keene, March 15, 1753.

29. PATENTS EI #6, 708, Benjamin Keene of Dorchester County and "Keene's Addition," August 16, 1744.
30. Ibid., BT #3, pp. 452–54, Benjamin and Zebulon Keene and "Keene's Barrons," August 17, 1747. There is no explanation for the division of the lands. Only after examining the 1771 quitrents and the wills of both Benjamin and Zebulon can it be determined that this 563-acre tract of land was divided. Dorchester County Rent Rolls, 1769–1771, Dorchester County Historical Society, Cambridge, Maryland.
31. DCLR 14 Old 208, Noah Pearson and his wife Sally to Benjamin Keene of Dorchester County, planter, March 11, 1747/8.
32. PATENTS TI #4, 537–38, Benjamin Keene and "Hoggs Range," August 20, 1748.
33. Ibid., TI #3, 461–63, Benjamin Keene and "Keene's Delight," November 30, 1748.
34. DCLR 14 Old 652, Raymond Staplefort of Dorchester County, planter, to Benjamin Keene of Dorchester, Gent., August 26, 1752.
35. Wills 22, 74, Bethula Staplefort Wallace, January 13, 1764. The daughter of Raymond Staplefort, Bethula, married Richard Wallace Sr. From that union there was a son, Richard Wallace Jr., who married and had a daughter, Bethula Wallace. It was this Bethula who negotiated with Benjamin Keene for his purchase of "Keene's Rest."
36. DCLR 9 Old 335, Commission to Evans Pritchett, Matthew Travers, Benjamin Keene and Tobias Pollard to perpetuate the bounds of Richard Wallace's lands called "All Three of Us," "Caine's Rest," and "Stapleforts Lott," June 16, 1735 to 16 December 1735; Ibid., 3 Old 98, William Jones of Dorchester County, planter to Raymond Staplefort of the same county, Gent., July 10, 1675; PATENTS BS #2, pp. 130–31, Benjamin Keene asked for a special warrant to resurvey, April 15, 1752; Certificate L11 F576; DCLR 14 Old 694, Bethula Wallace of Dorchester, spinstress, to Benjamin Keene of Dorchester County, Gent., March 20, 1753/4; PATENTS BS #2 pp. 130–31, Benjamin Keene and "Keene's Rest," April 10, 1754. In connection with the commission's work, there was a deposition of George Staplefort with regard to a "bounded tree" on his father Raymond Staplefort's land called "Keene's Rest." George was born in 1671. The deed of 1675 is the one whereby "Keene's Rest" on the Hungar River is conveyed to Staplefort. Originally "Caine's Rest" was "Grant number 138" conveyed to William Cane (Keene) and surveyed in 1668. It was a 100-acre tract located on the east side of the Hungar near the head of Stapleforts Creek. William Keene died intestate and without heirs. Sometime between 1668 and 1675 the tract came into the possession of William Jones, who sold it as noted. Keene's resurvey was made on August 22, 1752. It indicated that "Keene's Rest," when resurveyed, contained 136 acres.
37. DCLR 15 Old 280, John Broome of Calvert County, Gent., to Benjamin Keene, Gent., of Dorchester County, July 23, 1755. World's End Creek is to the southeast of Stapleforts Creek.
38. Ibid., 15 Old 491, George Maxwell of Charles County, merchant, to Benjamin Keene of Dorchester County, planter, June 7, 1757.
39. PATENTS BC and GS #17, 148–49, Benjamin Keene and "Keene's Forest" of October 7, 1761.
40. Ibid., BC and GS #22, 56–58, Benjamin Keene and "Keene's Pasture," September 29, 1763. On March 18, 1762, Benjamin asked for and obtained a special warrant to resurvey this tract. Evidently Keene knew of some vacant land. On September 17, 1762, the Resurvey Certificate was issued. By the resurvey Keene acquired 20 more acres for a total of 60 in "Keene's Pasture."
41. Ibid., BC and GS #31, 274–75, Benjamin Keene and "Keene's Horse Pasture," August 1, 1765.
42. DCLR 14 Old 661, Benjamin Keene of Dorchester County, Gent., to Thomas Deane of

Dorchester, planter, August 26, 1752. Deane (c. 1728–1812) was the son of Henry and Elizabeth Summers Deane and the grandson of William Deane of Fox Creek. He married Elizabeth Critchett Shenton about 1753. Thomas must have purchased the property just before he married. Doubtless Benjamin wished to assist him in some small way. Indeed, Benjamin's brother Edward Keene married Ann Shenton, daughter of Raymond. There was thus a family connection.

43. Ibid., 17 Old 362, Benjamin Keene of Dorchester, Gent., to Robert Callinder of Dorchester, planter, June 11, 1761.

44. Ibid., 21 Old 174, Benjamin Keene of Dorchester to Raymond Shenton of Dorchester, November 14, 1766; ibid., 27 Old 60, Raymond Shenton of Dorchester to John Tubman of Dorchester, October 19, 1773; PATENTS BC and GA #18, 325–27, Benjamin Keene and "Keene's Neck," May 2, 1763.

45. This is merely a summation of the number of acres Keene acquired during his life. Reference must be made to his deeds and patents to obtain his purchase price and in the three instances, his selling price. While Keene was not a large landholder, nevertheless, he was a "middling" one, in the 1,500–3,000-acre range.

46. DCLR 15 Old, 206–7, Benjamin Keene Sr. to John Keene, "Keene's Delight," March 14, 1755. One of the four sons of Benjamin and Mary Travers Keene, John, was born c. 1736 in Dorchester County on the Keene plantation known as "Clark's Outhold." Educated undoubtedly by a tutor, John apparently decided rather early that he would be a planter. He received from his father 291.5 acres of land. In 1770, John's holdings amounted to 511 acres on which he paid £1.0.7 in quitrents. Over the years and on his own, John added other lands—"Stapleforts Addition to Insley's Lott," "Outlett," "Wallace's Meadow," "Wallace's First Chance," "Wallace's Chance," "World's End," "Pickney's Chance," "Wallace's Range," "Nunners Contenance"—and then became co-owner of "Invitation," "Keene's Adventure," and "Bramble's Delight." Although John sold several parcels, most acreage was retained. By his death he owned 756.5 acres. Sometime between December 20, 1757, and April, 1759, John married Mary Andrews, daughter of Isaac Andrews. Children born to the couple were Matthew, John, Zachariah, Neziah, and another, name unknown. Other children may have died young. In addition to the land, John inherited £108.5.1 5/8 from his father. John died in 1783 leaving an estate valued at £1021. His 14 slaves were valued at £462. Mary Andrews Keene lived on until 1796. The land transactions of John may be found in DCLR; ibid., 21 Old, 404, Stephen Andrews and John Keene and Mary his wife to James Reed, November 12, 1766, established the marital connection of John and Mary as does Wills 30, 467 of Isaac Andrews of February 6, 1758; ACCOUNTS 2, 124, Final Distribution of Issac Andrews, 1759. The Dorchester County Tax Assessment of 1783 (found in the HR) is invaluable in lieu of a will and accounts for John Keene. Tombstone inscriptions help establish dates for John's children. See Nellie Marshall, ed., *Tombstone Records of Dorchester County, 1678–1964* (Cambridge, Md.: Dorchester County Historical Society, 1981). Wills 17, 645–47, Benjamin Keene Sr., May 3, 1770 and ACCOUNTS 67, 357–58, Estate of Benjamin Keene Sr., November 30, 1772, throw light on John's inheritance.

47. DCLR 15 Old, 203, Benjamin Keene Sr. to Matthew Keene, a part of "Keene's Landing," March 14, 1755. In addition to the holdings received from his father, Matthew Keene by 1770 had acquired the 30-acre "Keene's First Purchase," or at least a part of it, and the 31-acre "Content." In all through purchase and acquisition Matthew, a planter, owned 543.5 acres on which he paid a quitrent of £1.1.10. In the fall of 1770, Matthew sold "Keene's First Purchase" to Abraham Meekins. Nor did Matthew hold "Hogg Range" for long. On December 10, 1772, Matthew and his wife Anna sold 60 acres of this land to Richard Sprigg. In

1783, Matthew owned 588 acres valued at £367. His 21 slaves were worth £669. Matthew and Anna had four sons; William, John, Samuel, and Benjamin. By July 9, 1803, Matthew was deceased as was his eldest son William, who in his will devised his lands to his brother John. This John, a nephew of John, son of Benjamin Sr., named in footnote 46, married a Sarah Dunnock on February 6, 1801. Dorchester County Rent Rolls, 1769–1771; DCLR 24 Old 146, October 9, 1770, Matthew Keene of Dorchester County, planter, to Abraham Meekins; ibid., 26 Old 179, Matthew Keene and Anna his wife to Richard Sprigg, December 10, 1772; Nellie Marshall ed., *Tombstone Records of Dorchester County;* Dorchester County Tax Assessment of 1783.

48. DCLR 19 Old 312, Benjamin Keene Sr. to Benjamin Keene Jr., August 15, 1764. At the same time Benjamin Keene Sr. disposed of some of his land to his sons, Zebulon Keene Sr. gave to his son Ezekiel the 50-acre "Kimbal's Increase" on the east side of Slaughter Creek. Benjamin Keene Sr. and John Jones acted as witnesses and justices. Ibid., 15 Old 200, Zebulon Keene Sr. to Ezekiel Keene, February 18, 1755.

49. Ibid., 20 Old 115, Benjamin Keene Sr. to John Keene, June 13, 1765.

50. Ibid., 21 Old 362, Benjamin Keene Sr. to his grandson Lewis Griffith, November 14, 1766; ACCOUNTS 66, 93–95, Estate of Benjamin Keene Sr., September 23, 1771, established the fact that Thomas Griffith was the husband of Benjamin's daughter Rebecca Keene Griffith.

51. Ibid., 23 Old 263, Benjamin Keene, Esq. to his son Matthew Keene, June 15, 1769. This is the first document in which "Esquire" is used following Benjamin's name. It generally meant a "landed country gentleman" and was used as a title of courtesy.

52. Dorchester County Rent Rolls, 1769–1771.

53. Ibid., Wills 37, 645–47, Benjamin Keene Sr., May 3, 1770.

54. Wills 37, 645–47, Benjamin Keene Sr., May 3, 1770; Dorchester County Rent Rolls, 1769–1771.

55. Ibid., Wills 373, 645–47, Benjamin Keene Sr., May 3, 1770; Dorchester County Rent Rolls 1769–1771; LRDC; Richardson, "Keene Family History," 250. By 1770, Benjamin Keene Jr.'s lands numbered 954.75 acres on which he paid quitrents which totaled £1.17.1 3/4. Benjamin (2) son of Benjamin (1) held 18 tracts of which "Laybrook Regulated," 137.5 acres, and "Keene's Increase," 112 acres, were the largest, while "Skillington Part," 10 acres and "Hog Range," 18 acres, the smallest. Many tracts were contigious. Benjamin Jr. and Ann, whose maiden name is unknown, married and had two living sons, Levin and Samuel. Benjamin Jr. served on numerous commissions, was appointed a justice of the peace after his father's death and served from 1770 to 1790. Organizing the first Dorchester County militia, "The Bucks Company" on November 30, 1776, Captain Benjamin Keene mustered 82 privates into this early revolutionary company.

56. Ibid., ACCOUNTS, no liber, folio 246 of 1751, Thomas Phillips, dec. Benjamin Keene Sr. acted as one of the sureties for the estate of Thomas Phillips. Doubtless this Thomas was the father of Levin and a son-in-law of Benjamin Keene Sr. The land "Phillips Chance" had been in the Phillips family for many years but then in 1755 it was sold by Benoni and Jane Phillips and Thomas and Ann Phillips to George Maxwell. Benjamin Keene Sr. then purchased the property in 1757 and bequeathed it upon his death to his grandson. DCLR 15 Old 259, Benoni and Jane Phillips and Thomas and Ann Phillips to George Maxwell, May 31, 1755; ibid., 15 Old 491, George Maxwell of Charles County, merchant, to Benjamin Keene of Dorchester, planter, June 7, 1757.

57. Ibid., 11 Old 30, Matthew Travers Sr. of Dorchester County to his son Benjamin Keene and Mary his wife, November 16, 1739; Wills 22, 502–4, Matthew Travers, June 9, 1742; F.

Edward Wright ed., *Maryland Eastern Shore Vital Records, 1801–1825,* (Silver Spring, Md.: Family Line Publications, 1986), Book V, 73. In the first document Travers was addressing his son-in-law and his daughter. Travers' will names his daughter Mary Keene. These two sources indicate that Benjamin and Mary were husband and wife and that Mary was the daughter of Matthew Travers. The date of their marriage is purely speculation. When Benjamin received the two deeds of the land given him by his parents in 1719 and 1720, Mary's name was not on the deed. In Wright's book of records this statement appears: "Old Mrs. Tubman, Dorchester County died 1806 buried Dorchester at age 82." This lady is Sarah Keene Tubman, the daughter of Benjamin and Mary Keene, and thus born in 1724. She was probably the oldest child and thus Benjamin would have married about 1722/3. As Mary Travers Keene's name does not appear on the deeds to her sons, John and Matthew, it is possible that she died by 1755.

58. Wills 22, 502–4, Matthew Travers, June 9, 1742; ibid., 11, 190–92, William Travers, October 24, 1701; ibid., no liber or folio, Elizabeth Hooper Travers, September 22, 1740; PATENTS C#3, 589–90, Matthew Travers patent of "Bachelors Ridge," May 10, 1695; ibid., RY #1, 269–73, Matthew Travers' patents of "Travers' Chance," September 2, 1714 and "William's Lott," April 10, 1715; DCLR 5 Old 40, Henry and Mary Hooper to Matthew Travers, October 31, 1693; ibid., 6 Old 194, Elizabeth Travers, widow of Dorchester County, to her son Matthew Travers, January 9, 1712/3. Matthew Travers, son of William Travers and Elizabeth Chaplin, was born c. 1672, probably on a Hooper Island plantation where he was undoubtedly educated by a tutor. Matthew bought land at every opportunity. With the death of his father in 1701, he obtained the 300-acre Chaplin home, ancestral plantation of his grandfather, William Chaplin, and other acreage on Hooper Island. By his death in 1742, Matthew owned in excess of 1634 acres as well as 20 slaves. Matthew married Elizabeth Hooper, daughter of Henry Hooper Sr. and Mary Woolford of Taylors Island on January 7, 1696. To this marriage were born four living sons, William, Henry, Matthew, John and three daughters, Mary Keene, Priscilla Stevens Howe and Ann. Matthew Sr. and his wife Elizabeth, who died in 1740, lived at "William's Lott" on Hooper Island from 1715.

59. Wills 11, 190–92, William Travers, October 24, 1701; DCLR 1 Old 88, Timothy Goodridge to William Travers and Nicholas Hackett, July 20, 1688; ibid., 5 Old 161, Thomas Taylor to William Travers of Dorchester, merchant, June 2, 1680; ibid., 4 Old 105, Elizabeth Travers to Henry Hooper, power of attorney to acknowledge "Travers Lott" and "Travers Addition," August 14, 1684. Mary Travers Keene's grandfather, William Travers, merchant, was born around 1640. Apparently he purchased his first property in 1668. Though not a large landholder, he did leave over 470 acres to his three living sons, Matthew, William, and Thomas when he died. William Sr. married Elizabeth Chaplin, daughter of William Chaplin of Calvert County, around 1664. In addition to the sons there were three daughters, Elizabeth, Mary, and Sarah.

60. Marshall, ed., *Tombstone Records of Dorchester County*; Debra Maxey ed., *Dorchester County Genealogical Magazine,* 16 vols. to 1997 (Cambridge, Md.); Wright, ed., *Maryland Eastern Shore Vital Records,* Book V, 73; Parran ed., *Register of Heraldic Families,* 2:192; copy of a letter from Robert E. Tubman to Duncan L. Noble, "Keene Lineage of Adelle Keene (Bosley) Noble" in possession of Mary E. Keene of footnote 8; Wills 37, 645–47, Benjamin Keene, May 3, 1770. Birth and death dates of Benjamin Keene's children were difficult to authenticate. Errors exist. The children were: Sarah Tubman (c. 1724–1806), Henry (c. 1723–1772), Benjamin Jr., (March 2, 1725/6–November 25, 1797), Elizabeth Griffith (c. 1730–?), John (c. 1736–1783), Matthew (c. 1738–1803), Rebecca Griffith (c. 1741 – ?), Mary Woolford (c. 1743– ?), and Christiana (December 25, 1745–September 9, 1824).

61. Ibid., 37, 645–47, Benjamin Keene, May 3, 1770. It is possible to speculate that Benjamin's unnamed daughter was Jane Phillips; see footnote 56.
62. Ibid., 27, 344–45, John Stevens, May 7, 1750; ibid., 31, 560–62, Thomas McKeel, January 28, 1762; ibid., 37, 147–50, Priscilla Stevens Howe, March 30, 1769; ibid., 16, 159–60, Henry Hooper Sr., 1720; ibid., 22, 248–49, Mary Woolford Hooper, 1740; Mowbray, *Early Settlers of Dorchester County*, 1:99; ACCOUNTS 38, 157–58, John Stevens, October 13, 1755. In his will, John Stevens devised some cattle to his daughter Mary, wife of Thomas McKeel. Priscilla Howe's will of 1769 states that her daughter Mary is the wife of Benjamin Keene. Following the death of her first husband John Stevens, Priscilla married Robert Howe by 1754.
63. Wills 31, 560–62, Thomas McKeel, January 28, 1762. Mary married McKeel prior to 1749 because Mary's father so states in his will of 1750. The McKeels had done well financially. In addition to the several tracts of land, livestock, including horses and a two wheeled chaise, 18 slaves, two pews, one at the church in Cambridge and the other at Fishing Creek, Thomas McKeel left an estate which amounted to £509.0.3 1/2.
64. Ibid., 31, 560–62, Thomas McKeel, January 28, 1762; ACCOUNTS 52, 298–99 of April 29, 1765 of Thomas McKeel, dec; ibid., 66, 150 of June 3, 1771, of Mary McKeel. Thomas McKeel's daughter was named Mary. She is not to be confused with McKeel's wife, who, following her husband's death, married Benjamin Keene Sr.
65. *Maryland Gazette*, July 30, 1767, Annapolis, Maryland.
66. Wills 37, 645–47, Benjamin Keene Sr., May 3, 1770. Keene's will was written on November 18, 1769.
67. Ibid., 37, 147–50, Priscilla Howe, March 30, 1769. This will was written on March 23, 1769. Priscilla claimed that Benjamin owed her husband money. Keene's inventory noted that Howe owed the Keene estate over £12.
68. Ibid., 37, 645–47, Benjamin Keene Sr., May 3, 1770. Priscilla Taylor, granddaughter of Pricilla Howe and daughter of Anne Taylor, was a witness to the will of Benjamin Keene further showing the relationship between the families.
69. DCLR 9 Old 237, Matthew Travers, Gent. of Dorchester County to Andrew Lord, planter of Dorchester, November 14, 1734. In this document Benjamin Keene Sr. is mentioned as a "justice" for the first time. In many land deeds in the period from 1704 to 1723 John Keene, father of Benjamin, is mentioned as justice of the peace.
70. Susie M. Ames, "Beginnings of Progress" in Charles B. Clark, ed., *The Eastern Shore of Maryland and Virginia*, 3 vols. (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Co., Inc., 1950), 1:105–19.
71. William W. Hening, ed., *The Statutes at Large of Virginia*, 13 vols. (Richmond: Samuel Shepherd, 1836), 1:169.
72. Ames, "Beginnings of Progress," 1:105–14.
73. Elise Greenup Jourdan, abstractor, *The Land Records of Prince George's County, Maryland, 1702–1709* (Westminister, Md.: Family Line Pulications, 1990), 47. From Governor John Seymour to Robert Bradly, Robert Tyler, James Stoddart, William Tannyhill, John Garrard, and Frederick Claudius of Prince George's County, April 20, 1706.
74. Virginia Webb, "Dorchester County" in Clark, *Eastern Shore of Maryland and Virginia*, 2:1015–16.
75. DCLR 9 Old 237, Matthew Travers to Andrew Lord, November 14, 1734.
76. Ibid., 23 Old 315, August 9, 1769; ibid., 23 Old 311, August 9, 1769. On July 13, 1769, Keene served as a witness to the valuation of the land of the orphans, James and Matthew Jarratt.
77. Wills 37, 645–47, Benjamin Keene, May 3, 1770.

78. DCLR 9 Old 97, Commission of Tobias Pollard, John Robson, William Grantham and Benjamin Keene Sr., November 24, 1732–January 20, 1733/4.
79. Ibid., 18 Old 17, Commission of Henry Travers, Thomas Craton, Henry Keene and Benjamin Keene Sr., August 11, 1761–September 19, 1761. Many libers carry the name of Benjamin Keene Sr. as one of the commissioners appointed to decide the disputes which evoked the naming of the commission.
80. Dorchester County, Judgment Records, 1728–1729, HR #89-7-2, Stack 2-10-2, 291.
81. DCLR, no liber or folio, Benjamin Keene to Zebulon Keene, January 11, 1725/6; INVENTORIES 104, 232–36, Benjamin Keene, November 15, 1770; ibid., 107, 265–68, Zebulon Keene, November 14, 1771; ibid., 125, 164–68, Capewell Keene, April 29, 1776; ibid., 9, 314–15, John Keene, March 11, 1724; Lord Baltimore's Rent Rolls for Dorchester County, 10, vol. 2 in HR. For crops and agriculture in this period see Gregory A, Stiverson, *Poverty in a Land of Plenty: Tenancy in Eighteenth-Century Maryland* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977) and Gloria L. Main, *Tobacco Colony, Life in Early Maryland, 1650–1720* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1982). By comparing the inventories of those who died around 1724 with those who died in the 1770–76 period, it is possible to note the changes in agriculture.
82. Jane Foster Tucker, *A Port of Entry, Oxford, Maryland* (Easton, Md.: Economy Printing Company, 1968); C. Homer Bast, "Talbot County Maryland, A History," in Clark, *Eastern Shore of Maryland and Virginia*, 2:950–51; Webb, "Dorcester County," ibid., 2:1013–31. Thacker points out that one of the English commercial firms trading in Maryland was Foster Cunliffe and Sons of Liverpool. Cunliffe ships sailing out of Liverpool and the West Indies were involved in the African slave trade. With the growing demand for labor to work the tobacco fields, several advertisements appeared in the *Maryland Gazette* of July 8, 1746 and June 15, 1748. The first announced the arrival of "a parcel of negro men, women and boys just received by ship 'Cunliffe', Captain Jones at Oxford." The second declared, "just imported in the Ships "Molly", Captain Stanton from Liverpool and "Cunliffe", Captain Johnson from Barbadoes to be sold at Oxford by wholesale or retail European or East Indian Goods, Rum, sugar, molasses, coarse or fine salt."
83. DCLR 11 Old 30, Matthew Travers Sr., of Dorchester to his son Benjamin Keene and Mary his wife, November 16, 1739; INVENTORIES 9, 314–15, John Keene, March 11, 1724/5. The names of the slaves were Pleasant, Frank, and Senior.
84. Wills 22, 502–4, Matthew Travers, June 9, 1742.
85. DCLR 14 Old 391, Thomas Chapman to Benjamin Keene, December 16, 1749. See also Robert L. Hall, "Slave Resistance in Baltimore City and County, 1747–1790," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 84 (1989): 305–18. Buyers seemed to prefer "New Negroes," those coming direct from Africa, to those "seasoned in the West Indies."
86. Wills 37, 645–47, Benjamin Keene Sr., May 3, 1770; INVENTORIES 104, 232–36, Benjamin Keene, November 15, 1771.
87. Lorena S. Walsh, "Rural African Americans in the Constitutional Era in Maryland, 1776–1810," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 84 (1989): 327–41.
88. Thomas Hollyday, "Readbourne Manor Revisited: Gleanings from an Eighteenth-Century Journal," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 85 (1990): 44–50; Stiverson, *Poverty in a Land of Plenty*, 88, 99–100; Bast, "Talbot County," 2:949–50. Stiverson indicates that many tenants who relied on tobacco depended on local storekeepers for subsistence. Wheat provided better cash returns than tobacco and helped to free many from the storekeeper.
89. INVENTORIES 104, 232–36, Benjamin Keene Sr., November 15, 1770; DCLR 15 Old 491, George Maxwell to Benjamin Keene, June 7, 1757. The date is an arbitrary one but there

is some credence to the year. After this time Benjamin was never referred to as a "planter" in a deed. Even though he secured more land after 1757, his land accumulations slowed. Other financial demands must have surfaced to take precedence.

90. INVENTORIES 104, 232–36, Benjamin Keene Sr., November 15, 1770.

91. ACCOUNTS 66, 93–95, Estate of Benjamin Keene, September 23, 1771.

92. INVENTORIES 104, 232–36, Benjamin Keene Sr., November 15, 1770.

93. Ibid., 107, 242–45, A list of the debts due the estate of Benjamin Keene, October 28, 1771.

94. Ibid., 107, 242–45, Debts owed Keene, October 28, 1771; ACCOUNTS 66, 93–95, Estate of Benjamin Keene, September 23, 1771; ibid., 387–88, Estate of Benjamin Keene, November 30, 1772.

95. Wills 35, 417–18, Lettice Woolen of 1767; ACCOUNTS, no liber or folio, of Lettice Woolen of March 24, 1768.

96. Richardson, "Keene Family History," no page number but a photograph of the house built about 1704 is reproduced.

97. INVENTORIES 104, 232–36, Benjamin Keene Sr., November 15, 1770.

98. Ibid., 104, 232–36, Benjamin Keene Sr., November 15, 1770.

99. Ibid., 104, 232–36, Benjamin Keene Sr., November 15, 1770; ibid., 125 104–8, Capewell Keene, June 12, 1776; ibid., 107, 265–68, Zebulon Keene, November 14, 1771. Zebulon's inventory was made on the October 5, while Capewell's was taken on April 29. Generally inventories were submitted to the court shortly after they were made. Such was not the case with Benjamin's, which was made in June and not entered until five months later. Zebulon's inventory listed 33.5 barrels of corn, 2 bushels of rye, 29 bushels of wheat and a peck of beans, while Capewell had on hand some corn, unpicked cotton and 50 bushels of wheat. Zebulon possessed five plows while Capewell had seven.

100. Ibid., 104, 232–36, Benjamin Keene Sr., November 15, 1770.

101. Stiverson, *Poverty in a Land of Plenty,* 90, 96–103; Main, *Tobacco Colony,* 24–86; Logan C. Trimble, "Middling Planters and the Strategy of Diversification in Baltimore County, Maryland, 1750–1776," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* 85 (1990): 171–78.

102. INVENTORIES 104, 232–36, Benjamin Keene Sr., November 15, 1770; ibid., 125, 104–8, Capewell Keene, June 12, 1776; ibid., 107, 265–68, Zebulon Keene, November 14, 1771; Stiverson, *Poverty in a Land of Plenty,* 89–96. All three Keenes raised flax and had it on hand at inventory time. Capewell had 13 pounds, 4 baskets of flax brakes, and "some unbroke flax." Zebulon had 14.5 pounds and "one parcel of unbroke flax."

103. Capewell and Benjamin were the ones harvesting the timber with the former having on hand "200 boards, tar barrel timber and 15,750 foot of one inch plank along with 2900 Barrel staves." Capewell's lumber was valued in excess of £16. INVENTORIES 125 104–8, Capewell Keene, June 12, 1776.

104. Ibid., 104, 232–36, Benjamin Keene Sr., November 15, 1770; ibid., 125, 104–8, Capewell Keene, June 12, 1776; ibid., 107, 265–68, Zebulon Keene, November 14, 1771, INVENTORIES 9, 314–18, Captain John Keene, March 11, 1723/4. It is interesting to compare the number of cattle the Keenes owned at their deaths. Capewell's inventory listed 9 horses, 25 sheep, 7 oxen, 59 hogs and 7 cows. Zebulon's inventory read: 3 horses, 18 sheep, 4 oxen, 47 hogs, and 16 cows. Captain John Keene's inventory of 1723/4 listed 1 horse, 12 sheep, no oxen, 72 hogs, and 20 cattle. It must be remembered that old Captain John did not have the acreage of the other Keenes. Capewell had no wool on hand. Once again though it was early in the year and the sheep had not been shorn. Zebulon, with a later inventory, had 40 pounds of wool.

105. Ibid., 104, 232–36, Benjamin Keene Sr., November 15, 1770.
106. Wills 37, 645–47, Benjamin Keene Sr., of May 3, 1770; ibid., 38, 563–65, Henry Keene, January 16, 1772; Dorchester County Rent Rolls 1769–71. Henry Keene's will was probated on January 16, 1771, shortly after his father, Benjamin Sr., died. In 1770, Henry Keene, a planter and merchant of Dorchester, held 2,029 acres of land in Dorchester County. On these lands he paid quitrents of £3.15.3. Henry's largest holding in 1770 was "Keene's Ninth Purchase," 636 acres, while his smallest was "Chance Part," 10 acres. Henry left land to his sons, John (1755–1809), Benjamin (1756–1812), Samuel, Ezekiel and Richard. To his daughters Nancy, Mary, Betsy, and Sally, Henry bequeathed "one Negro slave each." It is strange that Benjamin Keene Sr. made no mention of the distribution of slaves in his will.
107. Ibid., 37, 645–47, Benjamin Keene Sr. of May 3, 1770.
108. INVENTORIES 104, 232–36, Benjamin Keene Sr. November 15, 1770; ibid., 107, 242–45, Debts due the estate of Benjamin Keene, October 28, 1771.
109. ACCOUNTS 66, 93–95, Estate of Benjamin Keene, September 23, 1771; ibid., 67, 387–88, Estate of Benjamin Keene, November 30, 1772; INVENTORIES 107, 242–45, Debts due the estate of Benjamin Keene, October 28, 1771. The executor, Benjamin Keene Jr., divided the list of debtors into "Separate Debts" and "Desparate Debts." Many well known Dorchester County planters and others were on these lists. It is interesting to note that Elizabeth Dean, executrix of the estate of William Dean, planter, of Dorchester, submitted on October 12, 1774 a list of 111 "Desparate Debts" due her late husband. A few names were on both the Keene and Dean lists. Several men on the Dean list owed more than one pound and no one owed over £1.18.0, quite different from Keene. The total amount of "Desparate Debts" owed Dean amounted to only £30.12.3 1/2. Dean was just a planter and not a storekeeper. INVENTORIES 116, 393–96, William Dean, October 12, 1774.
110. Ibid., 107, 232–36, Benjamin Keene Sr., November 15, 1770; ACCOUNTS 66, 93–95, Estate of Benjamin Keene, September 23, 1771; ibid.,67, 387–88, Estate of Benjamin Keene, November 30, 1772; Wills 37, 645–47, Benjamin Keene Sr., May 3, 1770. Payment, in addition to those in the will, was made to Thomas McKeel, Robert Harrison, John Bennett, Betty Chapman, David Rogers, Eleanor Tubman, John Budd, Philemon LeCompte, and John Goldsborough. Several payments were made in tobacco.

"Westward ho! with exhilarating speed, diving deeper and deeper into the mountains. At one time sweeping and circling with the graceful sinuosities of the river, at another darting straight through a projecting spur; now under the cool shadow of a beetling cliff, then gayly emerging into sunshine and open fields. The steady fire of appreciative comments showed that the artistic sense was thoroughly aroused."

Portfolio

The B&O Artists' Excursion

On June 1, 1858, an unusual train left the B&O yards at Baltimore's Camden Station for a journey the entire length of the line, to Wheeling, Virginia. Aboard were approximately twenty artists, "literati," and photographers charged with the task of recording their various impressions of the trip for *Harper's.* For three days, to Wheeling and back, they took in everything—stopping now and then to record by sketch and photograph, to explore small towns, and to eat (prodigiously). A year later, in June 1859, their report, literary and visual, appeared in the magazine, part of a mid-century intellectual discussion about the impact of technological progress, or as historians have come to know it, "The Machine in the Garden."

Some forty of their images came to reside at the Maryland Historical Society. We present a few of them here, together with portions of the narrative as it appeared in *Harper's* one hundred and forty years ago.

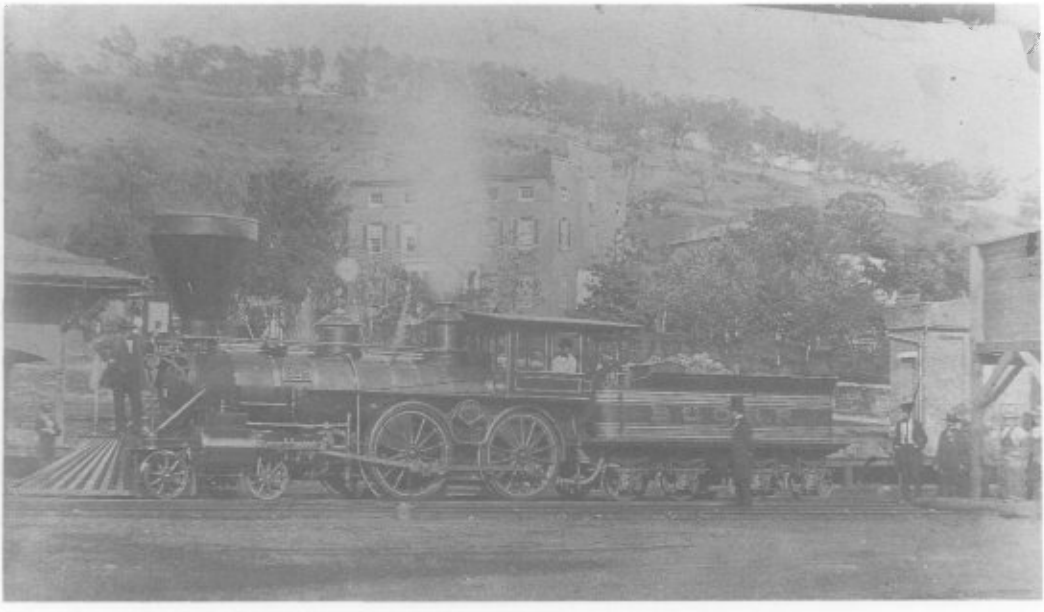
R.W.S.

"At the Washington Junction the pretty landscape was completely befogged. . . ."

"As they progressed the external world of gray shadows was left to take care of itself, and the tourists were richly remunerated by the opportunity thus afforded of developing their internal resources. There was music, vocal and instrumental; there was wit, Champagne, and deviled crabs; there was humor, broad and jovial; conversation genial and intelligent."

"At Harper's Ferry the excursionists were informed that they would have four hours at their disposal; . . ."

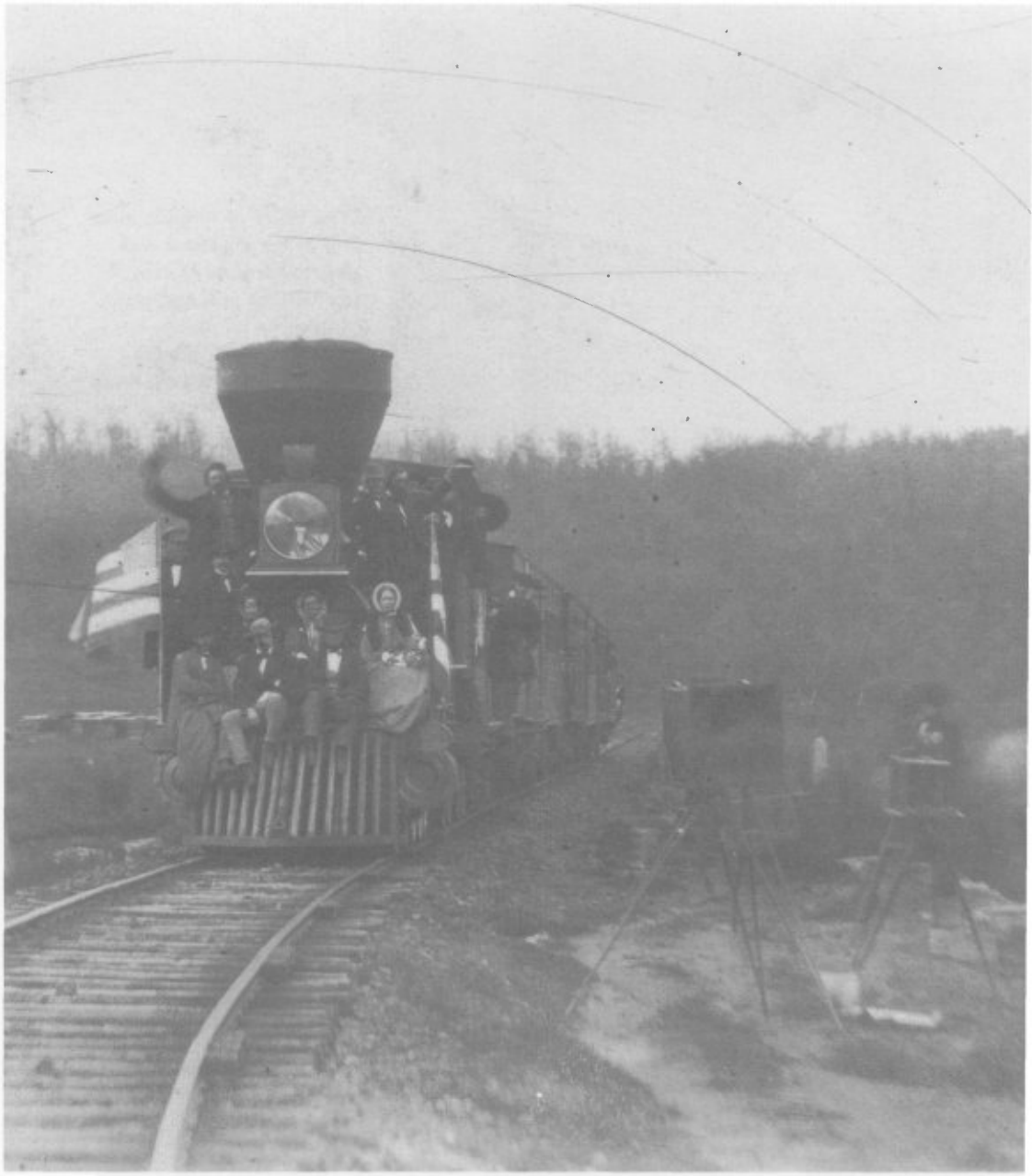
"With commendable alacrity, they set about the business of sight-seeing, each taking the road that chance or preference suggested. Some climbed the steep and winding path that led to Jefferson's Rock . . . ; some visited the work-shops of the National Armory, where our weapons of war and glory are manufactured . . . ; some strolled quietly along the river's brink, preferring the contemplation of scenes less extended but more picturesque than those visible from the hill-tops. For our part—having been familiar with this romantic spot from boyhood—we went to sleep."



"A little after mid-day we arrived at Cumberland; and after partaking of an excellent dinner at the 'Revere House' the company separated to seek in various directions such objects of curiosity and amusement as the town and its vicinity afforded."

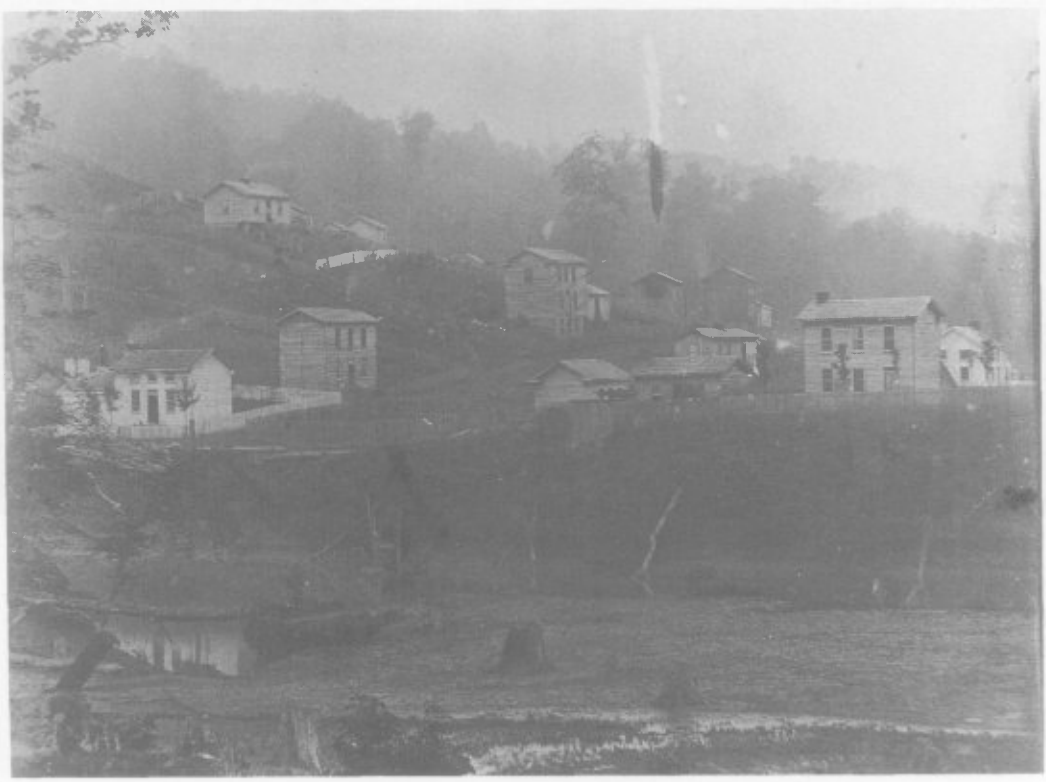
". . . those who had been wandering in the hills, or had made episodical excursions to Frostburg and Mount Savage, returned well pleased with what they had seen, . . ."

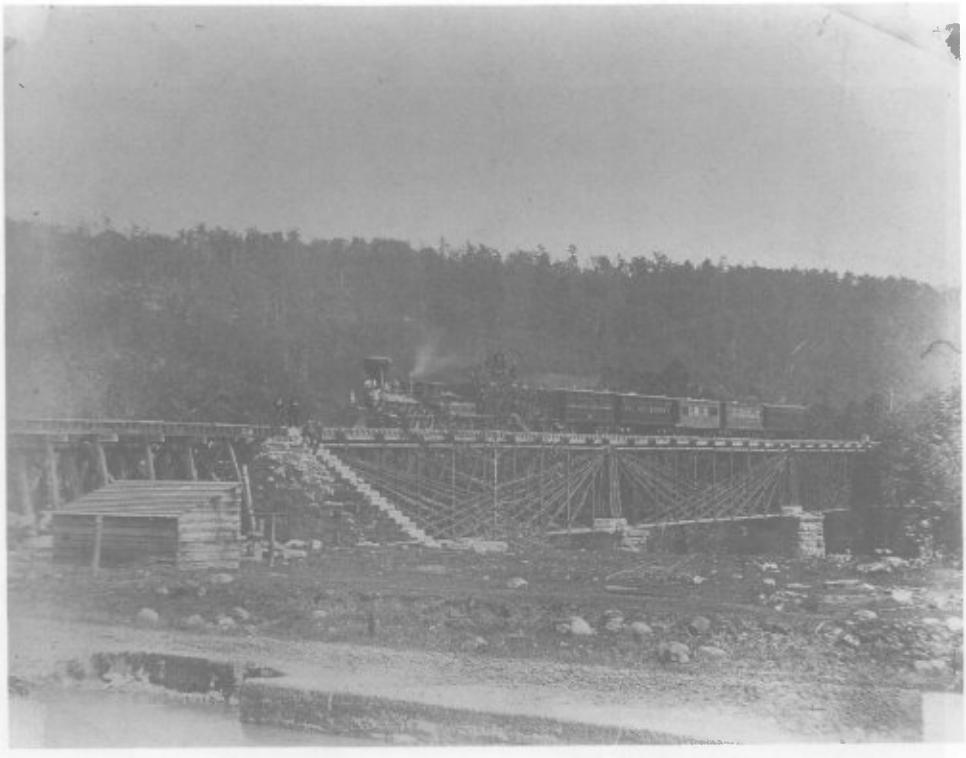
". . . and the company reassembled in force in the parlors of the hotel. . . . with the assistance of a fine piano and some other instruments happily improvised for the occasion, the anvil chorus from 'Il Trovatore' was performed with stunning effect."



"As the train commenced ascending the mountain a number of the excursionists, including the ladies, took their seats on the front of the engine and cow-catcher, for the purpose of obtaining a better view of the grand scenes which were opening before and around them. Such was the confidence felt in the steadiness and docility of the mighty steed that the gentlemen considered it a privilege to get a place; while their gentler companions reclined upon his iron shoulders and patted his brazen ribs as though he were a pet pony."

"The Valley of Virginia owes little of her goodliness and glory to the hand of man. Her swelling hills are crowned by no stately edifices; no fair cities lift their embattled towers above her rich-leafed forests, . . . no ivy-mantled ruin woos the tourist from his path. . . . Yet the valley boasts of gifts choicer and fairer than these, 'of that brave wealth for heart and eye.'"





"At eleven o'clock the company re-embarked, and started on their return eastward. If during the four days of leisurely movement we had been delighted with the examination of the details of the road, and impressed by the sublimity of its natural surroundings, yet the wonderful character of the achievement was more fully realized by the rapid, unbroken sweep over the whole length of the rail from Wheeling to Baltimore, 379 miles in 16 hours, without an incident, a jolt, or the slightest discomfort."

"On the 5th of June the company arrived at the Camden Street Station, about three o'clock in the afternoon. The excursion was over; but we will venture to say that, like

'The feast of O'Rourke, it will ne'er be forgot
By those who were there, or those who
were not.'"

The founders of the Bryn Mawr School for Girls offered educated women challenging careers teaching at a female college preparatory school. From left: M. Carey Thomas, Julia Rogers, Mamie Gwinn (seated center), and Bessie King (standing). Mary Garrett is seated on the floor. (Bryn Mawr College.)

"Unusual Qualifications": Teachers at the Bryn Mawr School, 1885–1901

ELIZABETH POKEMPNER

Over the course of the nineteenth century, the face of teaching changed dramatically, with the most glaring difference between the teacher of 1800 and 1900 being gender. By the end of the nineteenth century, teaching, once an all-male field, was almost universally considered "'appropriate' work for women."[1] As the twentieth century opened, teaching jobs had become "commonplace and acceptable for women."[2]

A significant shift in rhetoric fueled women's entrance into the teaching field, and by the late ninteenth century a powerful and enduring image of the female school teacher had emerged. Part Republican Mother, part True Woman, she was nurturing, selfless, and anti-intellectual. Anchored in traditional concepts of womanhood, teaching has often been viewed by recent scholars as an impediment to women's advancement.

The stereotype was strong enough in the late ninteenth century to repel many ambitious, well-educated women. Barnard College graduate Agnes Meyer would not consider teaching for fear of being "condemned to a world of petticoats,"[3] and Emily Balch recounts Lucy Salmon's attempt, in 1886, to discourage her from entering teaching after graduating from Bryn Mawr College. "Since I was not under any immediate economic pressure I ought to hold off from teaching. . . . A woman in my place ought to find new channels."[4] By 1910 the Association of Collegiate Alumnae, a vigorous league of college women drawn mainly from the elite colleges, occasionally offered similar advice to its constituency. Treating teaching as a somewhat antiquated field, the ACA, through pamphlets, seminars, and papers, encouraged young women to aspire to "occupations other than teaching."[5]

Some recent historiography has painted an equally bleak picture of the female school teacher. Sally Schwager, surveying the direction women's educational history has taken, senses "a decline in the status of women educators."[6] According to historian Jill K. Conway, female teachers did little to advance the position of women in society. By entering a service profession, she argues, these women reinforced traditional gender prescriptions.[7] Even those historians who

Elizabeth Pokempner earned a master's degree from Columbia University and is an editor in Washington.

grant that teaching brought women an unprecedented independence and freedom from their families maintain that female teachers themselves were ill prepared and less than committed to their transient professions.[8]

A review of teacher applications and recommendations submitted to Baltimore's Bryn Mawr School for Girls from 1885 to 1901 suggests a far more complicated picture of female school teachers in the late ninteenth century. What these documents tell us most clearly is that despite its beleaguered image, teaching could attract the best, the brightest, and the most ambitious of female college graduates.

Founded in 1885 by five young Baltimore women, the Bryn Mawr School shared the pioneering spirit for which the Bryn Mawr College, its namesake, was known. Though in a different state, the school—which opened in the same year as Bryn Mawr College—was vital to the success of the college.

Although women's colleges were experiencing a tremendous growth, individual classes were small and students often of less than exemplary quality. Few women possessed the qualifications required for entrance to programs of Bryn Mawr College's rigor. In an 1883 letter to the newly appointed Bryn Mawr College president, James E. Rhoads, M. Carey Thomas, soon to be the dean of the college, worried about finding well-prepared young women to enroll. "The absence of the regularly organized preparatory schools that exist for boys greatly embarrasses a girl who means to enter college."[9]

This was clear not only to Thomas but to four of her closest Baltimore friends—Mary Garrett, Mamie Gwinn, Bessie King, and Julia Rogers. Intellectual, strong-minded young women with a feminist bent and enough money to act on their beliefs in a practical way, they founded the Bryn Mawr preparatory school for girls to fill the void.[10]

The Bryn Mawr School offered young women an education according to an "inflexible college standard." Unlike other schools for girls, public and private, "requirements for college were included in the regular and obligatory course of the school."[11] The school's emphasis on classical languages was striking because women were usually barred from such subjects. Latin and French were taught as soon as a girl entered the main school at age ten or eleven, and German or Greek were studied in the last three years of the program. To graduate from the Bryn Mawr School, students had to pass the Bryn Mawr College entrance exams. Considered comparable to male-only Harvard's entrance exams, Bryn Mawr College's were tougher than those offered by any women's college in America. In addition to preparing girls for undergraduate work, the school did what it could to provide financially for the education of its best students. Beginning in 1892, two scholarships were awarded to the two top scholars in every graduating class. At a time when classes averaged fifteen, the prospect of four years of tuition-free higher education offered ample inspiration to ambitious students.

Bryn Mawr School students ca. 1900. Passing the difficult Bryn Mawr College entrance examinations was a graduation requirement. (Bryn Mawr School Archives.)

Central to the implementation of this rigorous pre-college program for young women was a stellar staff of teachers. In hiring its all-female staff, Bryn Mawr was guided by one "absolute rule": all teachers in the school proper must have a degree "from some college of good standing."[12] Thomas's involvement with the newly established Bryn Mawr College and her immersion in the growing, tightly knit network of college-educated American women insured that this requirement was easily met.[13] Almost all of the school's teachers had graduated from Wellesley, Smith, Vassar, the Harvard Annex, Bryn Mawr College, Cornell, Boston University, and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, as well as European colleges and universities.

The foremost academic women of the time recognized the important role the school would play in boosting the caliber of women college applicants, and, as a result, the level of education women's colleges could provide. Upon hearing of the founding of the Bryn Mawr School, women like Marion Talbot, an instructor at Wellesley, then an assistant professor and assistant dean of women at the University of Chicago as well as president of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae; Alice Freeman Palmer, a professor at Wellesley and dean of women at the University of Chicago; and Ellen Richards, teacher of chemistry at the Mas-

sachusetts Institute of Technology, wrote effusive letters offering encouragement and assistance to Thomas. "The step . . . you are taking is important and will have an effect throughout the country I am confident," Marion Talbot wrote in January 1885. "I beg that you shall consider it a pleasure and a privilege to aid in any way in my power."[14]

The most crucial aid that experienced academic women provided came in the form of solid and detailed lists of potential teaching candidates. In letter after letter they described to Thomas and the other founders women whom they believed possessed the "unusual qualifications," or in the words of another educator, met "the impossible requirements,"[15] that the path-breaking school demanded of its teachers. Whether the candidates were hired by the school or not, the applications they submitted and the reviews written on their behalf are revealing. Contrary to ninteenth-century stereotypes and some current historiography, "a ready sympathy," "a kind heart,"[16] and a selfless desire to serve society were not required to secure a teaching position at the Bryn Mawr School; exceptional scholarship and feminist leanings were.

Of all the qualities Bryn Mawr sought in its teachers, one in particular shatters conventional notions of ninteenth-century women teachers: academic achievement. Not only were the school's applicants educated in top-notch female and coeducational institutions, they left possessing stellar academic records and a commitment to expanding their educations. In a letter of recommendation, Professor Alice Freeman wrote that, while at Wellesley, Ellen Burrell was "an unusually accurate scholar and devoted to her work." Alice Goddard, hired by the school in 1885, graduated from Cornell "with high standing among her instructors." She was known for her "excellent scholarship." Smith professor L. C. Seelye spoke highly of Margarette Osgood, who graduated with "high standing as a scholar." While teaching at the Johns Hopkins University, Herbert Baxter Adams also taught at Smith, where Mary Locke, hired in 1885 by the Bryn Mawr School, distinguished herself as "one of my best students." Of Charlotte Smith, Ph.D., hired in 1886, Cornell mathematics professor Lucien Wait wrote: "she has taken the same course of pure mathematics as the civil engineers, was the only lady in my sections taking mathematics during sophomore and junior years, and she easily led all the boys."[17]

Collegiate success, while laudable in and of itself, was only a part of a much larger commitment these women had made to obtaining education for themselves. The applicants the school seriously considered had prepared for college, excelled there, and gone on to take graduate classes and earn master's and doctoral degrees. Like Mrs. Irvine, who received her bachelor's degree from Cornell and did graduate work at the University of Leipzig, many could be called "born student[s]."[18] Complete biographies are hard to come by, but applications and employment records give us some insight.

For young women such as Margarette Osgood, college preparatory work, though infrequently mentioned, was an important foundation on which to build. Four years of regular course work and one year of advanced work at the Salem High School paved the way for Osgood's entrance to Smith and her outstanding academic performance once there. Louisa Richardson also spent four years preparing for college; much of that time was given to the study of Latin and Greek. Master's degrees were not rare among applicants and employees. In 1901, for example, out of thirteen teachers, four held master's degrees. Both Miss Pellett and Frances Sheldon did graduate work at Cornell, Pellett receiving her master's degree magna cum laude, a grade "rarely given."[19] Teachers Bertha Rembaugh and Jane Brownell received their bachelor's and master's degrees from Bryn Mawr College, Brownell serving in addition as a Bryn Mawr College Fellow. Mary Augusta Scott, also a Bryn Mawr School teacher, took her bachelor's and master's degrees from Vassar, then spent a year at Newnham College in Cambridge, England. Doctorates were less common but not unheard of among applicants and teachers hired. In both 1889 and 1890, out of a staff of eight teachers, two held doctorates.

The academic biographies of two applicants in whom the Bryn Mawr School was very interested reveal the depth of women's commitment to scholarship. The school was thrilled when Alice Goddard accepted the position of teacher of Latin and Greek in 1885. After graduating from Cornell with a bachelor's degree, she taught for three years at Massachusetts' Worcester High School, a position she left to spend a year studying at the University of Zurich. On returning from Zurich, she received her master's degree from Cornell and began teaching at the Bryn Mawr School.[20]

Even more impressive is the academic background of Louisa Holman Richardson. Through a correspondence spanning two years, the school persistently offered Richardson a position as teacher of Latin. The effusive recommendations of Marion Talbot, who shared a friendship and academic background with Richardson, brought Richardson to the attention of Thomas and the other Bryn Mawr School founders. Like Talbot, as a young woman, Richardson set her eyes on Boston University. "In preparation for college," she wrote Thomas, in one of many letters, "I devoted four years to the study of Latin and three to the study of Greek with proportionate time on mathematics and the other requirements for admission to Boston University." "In straightened circumstances while in college," Richardson tutored students. In addition to helping those who lagged behind, she "fitted wholly" a number of students for college. After graduating from Boston University in 1883 at the age of twenty-two, she was hired as a teacher at the Lasell Seminary for young women where she had charge of the Classical Department, "a position," she pointed out to Thomas, "always filled by a man." In 1885, after two years at Lasell, she directed the Latin department at

The Bryn Mawr School demanded long hours studying classical languages, mathematics, and science. (Bryn Mawr School Archives.)

Carleton College. In 1887, Carleton offered her the position of Professor of Latin, and that June she received a master's degree from Boston University. Though Bryn Mawr was "very attractive" to her, having "thought over the matter carefully," Richardson graciously declined the school's 1887 offer.[21]

Bryn Mawr School applicants were drawn to teaching because it allowed them to continue to pursue their own studies. For Mary Hoyt, Bryn Mawr College graduate, teaching offered her a chance to review and develop her college work before going on to pursue a higher degree. Writing to the school in 1894, Hoyt described her ideal position: a teaching job that would give her "the benefit of the review and the experience" as well as the opportunity to "work out [her] theories."[22] Hoyt was hired as Bryn Mawr's teacher of English in 1895.

Many prospective teachers saw in Bryn Mawr a unique opportunity to enhance their educations. For these women, the school was especially attractive because of its proximity to one of the nation's foremost universities, Johns Hopkins. While Hopkins refused to grant degrees to women, provisions could be made for women to attend classes and to use the library. Applications and letters from potential teachers are filled with inquiries as to the relationship be-

tween the school and the university, and the opportunity for study at Hopkins. Anna Mineah posed two questions to Bryn Mawr School founder Julia Rogers when she wrote to her in 1886: "Does the school have the support of the JHU?" and "will [Bryn Mawr students and teachers] have privileges [there]?" Winifred Edgerton was excited by the "hope of Hopkins." Adelaide Rudolph, who was studying for a master's degree at Columbia College and whose "desire" was to "prepare for the chair of English in some women's college of repute," believed that a teaching position at the school and access to Johns Hopkins would allow her to "go on with work that will lead later to the doctor's degree."[23]

For its part, Bryn Mawr actively encouraged its teachers' scholarly ambitions. Because the fathers and brothers of the school's founders occupied important positions as Hopkins administrators and trustees, access to the University was a real possibility. In an effort to persuade "math genius" Winifred Edgerton to move from New York's Columbia College Observatory, where she was a student, and from Miss Reed's School, where she was a teacher, to the Bryn Mawr School, founder Mamie Gwinn indicated that an arrangement with Hopkins could be made. If Edgerton were to come to Bryn Mawr, Gwinn practically guaranteed Edgerton's admission to the University's library and advanced math seminar.[24]

As attentive as Bryn Mawr's teacher applicants were to their own academic advancement, they did not fail to realize that they had an important role to play in a much larger social movement. An overwhelming number of applicants believed that the college preparatory work conducted at the school was crucial to the development of higher education for women. Writing to Thomas in 1886, Anna Mineah wanted to know about the school's relationship with Johns Hopkins but was particularly "interested [in] the school as one of the onward steps in the higher education of women."[25] Louisa Richardson, teaching in Minnesota and working on a master's degree at Boston University, immediately sparked to the "proposed plans" for the Bryn Mawr School. "The higher education of women . . . interests me greatly," she wrote Thomas. "Already, my heart is in the work of fitting girls for college."[26] In a letter of inquiry to Thomas, Alice Goddard, finishing up courses in Zurich, expressed her desire to "bring American girls up to the level of . . . boys in the classics at their entrance to college" so that the women's "college course would be wonderfully easy."[27] Despite declining the school's job offer, Winifred Edgerton, who pursued graduate classes while teaching in New York, felt "an interest in [BMS] as sincere as a component element." She continued to write to Thomas of her attempts to "bring Reed College," the all-girls school at which she taught, "up upon the highest possible plane" and of her desire to establish a college course of study at Reed.[28]

Like so many other first- and second-generation female college graduates, applicants such as Winifred Edgerton and Louisa Richardson held an almost

messianic faith in women's higher education. By 1882 this commitment had taken on national form. Convinced that "it was important that women who had gone to college . . . carry the college idea far and wide in the community and make it a rightly valued thing for a girl to go to college,"[29] Alice Freeman and sixty-three other college women founded the Association of College Alumnae. Whether working through the ACA or on their own, female college graduates of the late ninteenth century were especially committed to helping younger women build on the gains already made.

Unlike the general, nebulous sense of "duty" female teachers stereotypically felt to educate the young, Bryn Mawr's teacher applicants felt a specific, direct sense of duty to "the [female] cause." For these women, their commitment to fostering higher education for the next generation of women was "keen and personal."[30] In the end, it was their personal experiences as women in academia, in addition to their scholastic achievements and ambitions, that qualified them for positions at the Bryn Mawr School.

In 1887, Olga Schroeder, newly hired by the school to teach Greek, Latin, and German, was hard pressed to give Thomas her academic credentials for the annual listing of teachers. Schroeder corrected Thomas's assumption that her (Schroeder's) title was "Graduate of Oxford University." Though men and women sat for the Oxford exam, men received the Oxford degree while women received a degree from one of the women's divisions. "I always," wrote Schroeder to Thomas, "have trouble expressing my situation concerning the Oxford examinations. It is the University not the college that gives the certificate but I certainly do not think I could be called a graduate." During the more than eight years she spent at the Bryn Mawr School, Schroeder was listed in the yearly circular as "Graduate Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford, England."[31] "I hope," Schroeder continued in her 1887 letter, "the time may not be too far off when women will not only be allowed to go in for the men's examinations but will *really* have their degrees given to them by Oxford as well."[32]

In the meantime, while at Bryn Mawr, Schroeder did everything she could to instill in her students a desire to attend college. At her suggestion, Thomas arranged for Bryn Mawr School students to spend a day at Bryn Mawr College, touring the campus, watching a basketball game, and talking to the school's graduates. She often divided her Latin classes into teams named after Northeastern women's colleges.[33] Acutely aware of the difficulties that prevented young women from attending college, she tried to ease their paths. She took a special interest in 1894 graduate Elizabeth Roberts. Three months after Roberts graduated, Schroeder was concerned enough to write to Thomas: "I wanted her to go to college, and I am sure she would have liked to." Suspecting that Roberts' family was financially able to send her to college but that "she was needed [by them] at home," Schroeder planned to intercede: "[I will] write to the girl to find out

Bryn Mawr's founders recognized the importance of physical training as a complement to intellectual pursuits. (Bryn Mawr School Archives.)

whether she wants a position which would enable her to study at the same time."[34]

It is difficult to fit Olga Schroeder, leading young Bryn Mawr School scholars across the campus of Bryn Mawr College, into the traditional image of the nineteenth-century school teacher. Louisa Richardson, making her way up the academic ladder as she prepared young women for college, presents a similar problem. In the eyes of the Bryn Mawr School, however, these women were ideal teachers. The contribution the school made to the female cause was not limited to the preparation of young women for college; one of its most significant accomplishments was the redefiniton of the female school teacher. By demanding that teachers possess high scholastic ambitions for themselves and a strong feminist commitment to insuring higher education for the next generation of women, the school was able to tap into the very same ambitious and forward-looking women who had balked at the profession. When, in September 1885, six "unusual[ly] qualifi[ed]" teachers welcomed the school's first students into its downtown Baltimore building, a powerful engine for female advancement was set in motion.

NOTES

1. Nancy Hoffman quoted in Geraldine Joncich Clifford, ed., *Lone Voyagers* (New York: Feminist Press, 1989), 18.
2. Shirley Marchalonis, *College Girls: A Century in Fiction* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1995), 113.
3. Agnes Meyer, *Out of These Roots* (New York: Arno Press, 1980), 65.
4. Mercedes Randall, *Improper Bostonian: Emily Greene Balch* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1964), 86.
5. Marion Talbot and Lois Kimball Mathews Rosenberry, *The History of the American Association of University Women 1881–1931* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1931), 235.
6. Sally Schwager, "Educating Women in America," *Signs*, 12 (1987): 336.
7. Jill K. Conway, "Perspectives on the History of Women's Education in the United States," *History of Education Quarterly*, 14 (1974): 1–12. Other historians hold a more optimistic view of women's experiences in areas seen as "female" or "service" professions. See Robyn Muncy, *Creating a Female Dominion in American Reform, 1890–1935* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), which argues that some women working within fields typically viewed as "female" preserves—social welfare and child and maternal health in particular—were able to effect significant policy reforms and reach notable, if short-lived, positions of power within those realms.
8. See Richard Bernard and Maris Vinovskis, "The School Teacher in Antebellum Massachusetts," *Journal of Social History*, 10 (1977): 332–45 and Geraldine Joncich Clifford, "History as Experience: The Uses of Personal History Documents in the History of Education," *History of Education*, 7 (1978): 183–96.
9. Marjorie Housepian Dobkin, ed., *The Making of A Feminist: Early Journals and Letters of M. Carey Thomas* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1979), 279.
10. On the five Baltimore friends and their work, see Barbara Sicherman, "Reading and Ambition: M. Carey Thomas and Female Heroism," *American Quarterly*, 45 (1993): 73–103. A basic history of the school can be found in Rosamund Beirne, *Let's Pick the Daisies: A History of the Bryn Mawr School, 1885–1967* (Baltimore: Bryn Mawr School, 1970).
11. M. Carey Thomas to the Women's Building at the Columbian Exposition in Chicago, August/September 1892, reel 211, Lucy Fisher West, ed., *The Papers of M. Carey Thomas in the Bryn Mawr College Archives* (Woodbridge, Conn., 1982), microfilm edition (hereinafter *MCTP*).
12. Mary Elizabeth Garrett to Miss Elder, June 26, 1894, reel 212, *MCTP*; Mary Elizabeth Garrett to Miss Hamilton, May 15, 1897, reel 214, *MCTP*.
13. For a close analysis of M. Carey Thomas and of the development of women's colleges in the 1800s, see two books by Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz: *Alma Mater* (New York: Knopf, 1984) and *The Power and the Passion of M. Carey Thomas* (New York: Knopf, 1994).
14. Marion Talbot to MCT, January 12, 1885, reel 210, *MCTP*.
15. Alice Freeman to MCT, December 11, 1884, reel 210, and W. E. Byerly to MCT, Spring 1889(?), reel 211, *MCTP*.
16. [Illegible] Anson (?) to MCT, February 18, 1885, reel 210, *MCTP*.
17. Alice Freeman to MCT, December 11, 1884, reel 210; C. M Ramsen to Samuel Green, February 18, 1885, reel 210; L. Crocker to MCT, November 28, 188[illegible], reel 215; L. C. Seelye, December 23, 1885, reel 210; H. B. Adams to MCT, May 6, 1887, reel 210; and Lucien Wait to MCT, April 12, 1886, reel 210, *MCTP*.
18. Anna Brackett to MCT, December 31, 1888, reel 210, *MCTP*.

19. Benjamin Wheeler to MCT, February 12, 1892, reel 211, *MCTP*.
20. Alice Goddard to MCT, May 6, 1885, and Mamie Gwinn to Winifred Edgerton, [illegible] 1885, reel 210, *MCTP*.
21. Louisa Richardson to MCT, January 1, 1885, May 21, 1887, and June 2, 1887, reel 210, *MCTP*; Marion Talbot to MCT, January 2, 1885, reel 210, *MCTP*.

In 1890 the Association of Collegiate Alumnae, which prided itself on fostering women's higher education and believed specifically that only by keeping standards for women's education high would progress ensue, officially recognized Richardson. In that year, the ACA awarded its first European fellowship to Louisa Richardson. Talbot and Rosenberry, *History of the American Association of University Women,* 147.

22. Mary Hoyt to MCT, March 27, 1894, reel 212, *MCTP*.
23. Anna Mineah to MCT, January 16, 1886, reel 210, *MCTP*; Winifred Edgerton to MCT, May 6, 1885, reel 210, *MCTP*; Adelaide Rudolph to MCT, January 2, 1894, and April 21, 1891, reel 212, *MCTP*.
24. Mamie Gwinn to Winifred Edgerton, [date illegible], reel 210, *MCTP*.
25. Anna Mineah to MCT, January 16, 1886, ibid.
26. Louisa Richardson to MCT, January 22, 1885, ibid.
27. Alice Goddard to MCT, May 6, 1885, ibid.
28. Winifred Edgerton to MCT, May 6, 1885, ibid.
29. Talbot and Rosenberry, *History of the American Association of University Women,* 11.
30. J [illegible] Arms to Mamie Gwinn, June 6, 1885, reel 210, *MCTP*; Adelaide Rudolph to MCT, May 14, 1894, reel 212, *MCTP*.
31. BMS circulars and salary lists, 1885–1901, reel 215, *MCTP*.
32. Olga Schroeder to MCT, July 21, 1887, reel 210, *MCTP*.
33. *Baltimore News,* October 23, 1896, reel 215, *MCTP*; Olga Schroeder to MCT, November 21, 1887, reel 210, *MCTP*.
34. Olga Schroeder to MCT, August 9, 1894, reel 212, *MCTP*.

When the United States entered World War I, "work or fight" draft laws classified professional baseball players as non-essential workers and prompted their recruitment by the Bethlehem Steel League. (Baltimore Sun, *August 19, 1918.*)

Baltimore, the "Babe," and the Bethlehem Steel League, 1918

PETER T. DALLEO and J. VINCENT WATCHORN III

World War I seriously threatened Organized Baseball. The nation's wartime priorities—building the armed forces and protecting "essential" industries—caught baseball players in a controversy: Who should be drafted and who should remain home? The Bethlehem Steel Corporation responded by expanding its shipyard and steel mill work force and creating "fast" industrial leagues that included baseball.[1] Many professional ballplayers opted for "work" in Steel League plants so that they could play on Steel League teams. Among those who developed an affiliation with the Steel League was Baltimore's "Babe" Ruth.

In 1917 baseball, like the rest of the nation, carried on "business as usual." After the United States entered the war in April, owners of major league clubs encouraged patriotic events at their ballfields; they held military drills, sponsored special days, the proceeds of which were funnelled to American servicemen overseas, and promoted recruitment into the armed forces.[2] Many ballplayers, including Boston's "Babe" Ruth and Chicago's "Shoeless" Joe Jackson, held deferments as married men. In 1918, however, the government made anyone between the ages of twenty and forty-five not involved in "essential" work eligible for the draft. This "work or fight" order categorized ballplayers as "non-essential" and therefore draftable, a development that seriously undercut the viability of the major leagues.[3] Professional ballplayers, suddenly lumped together with touring car chauffeurs, pool hall attendants, window cleaners, and florist shop employees, found themselves accused of being "slackers." Some journalists openly called for an end to baseball's "special privileges" and wrote gleefully about "the new life . . . facing "Mr. Baseball Player" . . . [who] must become accustomed to bunking in uppers, eating simple grub, waiting for trains, having his stipend shaved to conform to contingencies, and submitting to hardships." Some major leaguers enlisted in the armed forces—Christy Mathewson, Ty Cobb, Grover Cleveland Alexander, Eddie Collins and Cy Young—heightening the discontent with ballplayers who did not.[4]

The rise of industrial leagues, sometimes pejoratively called "Shelter Leagues,"

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attracted Ruth and many other professionals. On the West Coast, Bethlehem supported teams in Alameda and San Francisco, California, and in Seattle and Tacoma, Washington. In New Mexico industrial teams played army squads. On the East Coast baseball leagues formed around industrial centers in Maryland, New York, and Pennsylvania. Bethlehem sponsored other teams in Delaware and New Jersey.[5]

Begun in 1917 as entertainment for the corporation's employees, by 1918 the Bethlehem Steel League challenged Organized Baseball for its best players. In addition to Sparrows Point, the Steel League included teams at Fore River, Massachusetts, Wilmington, Delaware, and Bethlehem, Lebanon, and Steelton, Pennsylvania. According to news reports, Steel League scouts offered "all sorts of financial inducements" to prospective players. At first, few left the majors, but in July their numbers increased. Baseball's officialdom, concerned about losing players, characterized those who quit for allegedly protected jobs as "new style outlaws." While editors and feature writers produced articles about slackerism, cartoonists filled sports pages with unsympathetic portrayals of Steel League jumpers and Organized Baseball's dilemma.[6] Indeed, many professionals found their way into the Steel League and the Shipyard League—from Chicago, Joe Jackson's teammates, Byrd Lynn and "Lefty" Williams; from Washington, Patsy Gharrity and George DuMont; from the St. Louis Cardinals, Rogers Hornsby; from Brooklyn, Al Mamoux; from Philadelphia, "Chief" Bender; from the New York Giants, Jeff Tesreau and Hans Lobert; from Boston, a number of Ruth's teammates; and from the Yankees, Hughie High and Wilson "Chick" Fewster, who joined Sparrows Point.[7]

Baltimore, of course, was a fertile area for industrial sports. By World War I about 25 percent of the city's 600,000 inhabitants worked in industry. Although most were laborers who operated plant machinery, a small population of artisans held positions in textiles, manufacturing, publishing, food industries, and construction. About one-third of the industrial jobs were held by women.[8]

According to one inhabitant, Sparrows Point was a company town on which "The sun always rose over the blast furnaces and set on the plate mill."[9] Begun in 1893 under the ownership of the Pennsylvania Steel Company, the one-time farm and peach orchard had blossomed into a steel mill, shipyard, and residential community for its workers. By the early twentieth century, Sparrows Point had become known for the rails it provided to the burgeoning railroad industry. In 1916, Charles Schwab purchased it all for Bethlehem Steel. Two years later the corporation expended $20 million to enlarge the Sparrows Point plate and sheet mills and complete a drydock with a six-thousand-ton lifting capacity. Its workers, primarily white, came from Maryland and Pennsylvania and some of the nearby southern states. Southern African-Americans filled out the work force. The company provided rental housing for employees. Recreational activities, especially sports, played an important role in building community morale.[10]

The Steel League gave professional baseball players "essential" employment—and the opportunity to play baseball. (Baltimore Sun, *May 19, 1918.*)

Long supportive of many baseball teams and leagues, by 1918 Baltimore was home to the Orioles of the International League. Fans could also see teams such as the Baltimore Dry Docks or the Highland Athletic Club in the Baltimore Semi-Pro League, some of the Bartlett-Hayward nines in the so-called "munitions league," the Industrial League's Lord Baltimore Press and the Davison Chemical Company, and other, lesser-known squads in the City and Suburban League or the Amateur League, plus a host of independent teams. While Sparrows Point played on its own Scammel Field, the others competed on public and private fields scattered around the city.[11] During the war the *Baltimore Sun* also covered former International Leaguers who played for service teams and games against local military bases such as the 313th Regiment of "Baltimore Boys" stationed at Camp Meade.[12]

In May 1918, at a banquet at the Emerson Hotel, Sparrows Point management, heads of departments, and foremen met to discuss the future of the newly reorganized Steel League. According to reporters, they argued that recreational entertainment helped to create a happy work force, which in turn increased productivity. Although enamored with the availability of talent from the majors, the Sparrows Point management, unlike some of its opposition, seemed pleased that they had "not gone in for big raids" on major league clubs.[13]

The Sparrows Point season almost ended prematurely. The plant team played pre-season games against Mt. Clare and the Fort Howard military squad but allowed its team members to compete in the Semi-Pro League, a policy that continued in effect throughout the Steel League season.[14] Under Schwab, who believed that competition stimulated productivity, the Bethlehem Steel Corporation's Competitive Department sought ways to boost output by developing recognition programs that ranged from service badges for time spent working for the war effort to bonus money to be split among the employees in the most productive plant.[15] In mid-May, one set of Sparrows Point employees, a gang of African-American workers, responded by eclipsing the riveting record previously held by the London shipyard of Fraser and Fraser.[16] The plant then went on strike.

According to the employees, the strike erupted because Sparrows Point's management failed to follow conditions set forth by the Shipping and Wage Adjustment Board. Workers sought payment by scale and two months' back pay as agreed to in the settlement. The work action resulted in a two-day layoff of about a thousand "outside hull" men. For Sparrows Point that meant a reduction of its work force from 120 gangs to sixteen. In a statement to the press, the striking workers also registered their resentment of the tone and substance of a *Sun* editorial that questioned their loyalty to the war effort.[17]

With the end of the strike, Sparrows Point embarked on its shipbuilding and baseball season with a team that lacked some of the big names found in other Steel League towns. After Sparrows Point won its first game, in eleven innings against Fore River, the squad dropped the next four in succession to Bethlehem, Lebanon, Harlan, and Fore River. Although it led the league in hits (35) and stolen bases (11), the Baltimore nine also held the top spot in errors (16).[18] At this juncture, the Sparrows Point side consisted mainly of semi-professional players, a few minor leaguers, and a handful with major league experience. Five players from the previous year had returned: ex-Oriole pitcher Dave Roth, outfielder Tom Brown, "a good safe player who knows the game . . . ,"[19] semi-pro players Jimmy O'Rourke and Jimmy Catiz, and ex-major leaguer James "Runt" Walsh, a thirty-two-year-old shortstop who had played from 1910 on with the Philadelphia Phillies before shifting to Baltimore and St. Louis in the Federal League.[20] Some of those who joined in 1918 had even less experience: local semi-pro pitchers Al Ehmling and Doc Walsh and "hard hitting second baseman" Bill Cranston.[21] Among the more experienced were Donohue, a pitcher from Richmond, outfielder Johnny Priest, who as a Yankee (1912–13) was an infielder, and Gus Smith, a catcher who once may have had a contract with the New York Giants, as well as ex-Yankee pitchers Allan Russell (1915–18), born in Baltimore, and Ed Monroe (1917–18). Former Oriole and Philadelphia Athletic pitcher Clarence "Lefty" Russell (1910–12) returned to his hometown to play

first base.[22] As the season progressed, local sportswriters argued that if other teams in the league hired professionals, Sparrows Point should do the same.[23]

Throughout May and June, Baltimore's public focused on news items about the "work or fight" issue, the potential for expanding the draft pool, and the impact of the war on sporting events.[24] An editorial on the fourteenth of June endorsed the compulsory work order that had been initiated by Maryland and gradually accepted in the neighboring states of Pennsylvania, Delaware, and New Jersey. The *Sun* balanced coverage of Charles Schwab's speeches on the importance of shipbuilding with open questions about whether the Bethlehem magnate really had promised not to take any more professionals into the Steel League. Writers also took pains to explain the impact of the need for more draftees. The nation would either dip into other classes of the current pool or follow through on an amendment pushed by Maryland's Senator Jacob France that extended the age of draftees to include anyone between the ages of eighteen and forty-five.[25] The *Sun's* sports page cartoonists chipped in with sketches of ballplayers jumping fences into shipyard leagues or boiling in a cauldron fueled by wartime needs.[26]

According to the *Sun*, the draft endangered very few of the Sparrows Point players. Only Alex Schaufele, a catcher, was single and of the right age. Married players included Lefty Russell, Johnny Priest, and Donohue. The case of twenty-two-year-old, Baltimore-born Wilson Fewster, about to leave the Yankees for Sparrows Point, proved interesting to the *Sun's* readers:

> Just what Fewster intends doing will be definitely known when he makes the next move. He supports his mother, and while he has two young brothers at home, he has another in the aviation service. Only recently Wilson registered, he just having reached his maturity. His mother, it is said, wants him to remain near home, while the player realizes that he has a golden opportunity to make a reputation with the Yankees. He simply doesn't know what to do, but in the end will be guided by his mother.[27]

The Baltimore papers also speculated about Babe Ruth's draft status: "while generally called a Baltimorean, [Ruth] has spent much time in Boston since he joined the Red Sox. His father said the great home-run swatter had registered in Beantown."[28]

As the season progressed, it became increasingly evident that the minor leagues were in danger of collapsing. The International League and the nearby Blue Ridge League struggled with the problems caused by the war—the depletion of good talent, salary cuts and competition with salaried work elsewhere, and reduced transportation. The *Sun* chronicled the series of failures that ended

the seasons of the Blue Ridge League, the Southern Association, the Texas Association, and the Pacific Coast League.[29] Although the first player in Baltimore to be ordered to secure a useful job was an Oriole, Rube Parnham, the International League somehow survived.[30]

In Baltimore, despite the difficulties, the innovative owner of the Orioles, Jack Dunn, once again managed to find ways to attract fans to Oriole Park. Although some national baseball writers condemned the shift to twilight games as a "subterfuge,"[31] fans in Baltimore welcomed them and Dunn embraced them enthusiastically. Twilight contests began at 6:30 P.M. rather than 4 P.M. In mid-June, the first twilight game in Baltimore drew a crowd half again as large as that of the previous day as Orioles fans watched Rube Parnham pitch the Dunnmen to a 4 to 2 victory over the Jersey City Skeeters.[32]

The Orioles, as part of the International League, also supported an even more controversial change, Sunday baseball. In towns such as Wilmington, the Steel League team bore the brunt of this innovation; in Baltimore, the Orioles led the way. In May, Baltimore's mayor signed a city council bill that allowed baseball, golf, tennis, soccer, basketball, and football contests on Sundays between 2:00 and 7:00 P.M. The legislation also contained two provisions designed to mollify the opposition—no admission charges for sports contests and no disturbing religious services being held within a hundred yards of a sports event. Religious groups such as the Lord's Day Alliance and the Lutheran Synod nevertheless organized protests against Sunday ball. After threatening an injunction, such groups sought assistance from the courts.[33] The city police board chastised Oriole management because they collected money at games, a violation of the new baseball ordinance. In a letter to Dunn about the Baltimore/Toronto clash on June 16, the police board claimed that on arrival fans found "at the entrances of [Oriole] park boxes . . . placed for the reception of contributions by those attending the game, which amounted to and was considered an invitation for the contribution of money." Hawkers sold "score cards," merely a rain check with a box for marking runs scored, for which they accepted "contributions ranging from nickels to crisp bank notes."[34]

In spite of these distractions, the Sparrows Point entry recovered from its slump by putting together a winning streak of five victories in six games. Although by mid-June its record was six wins and five losses, the Baltimore squad had defeated every other team in the league. By then, two of the team's players were among the top ten batters: Lefty Russell at .333 and Tom Brown at .285, which tied him with Harlan's Joe Jackson.[35]

New players contributed to the reversal of the team's fortunes as did improved play by some of the younger men. The acquisition of two major leaguers from the Yankees strengthened the defense. Hughie High, a .250 hitter, was described as "a clever player, but not quite good enough to hold down a major

Baltimore Orioles owner Jack Dunn competed with the Steel League by playing twilight and Sunday afternoon games. (Maryland Historical Society.)

league berth regularly. . . . should be able to play many more seasons, provided he retains his interest in shipbuilding."[36] Wilson Fewster, born in Baltimore in 1895, contributed to the infield.[37] Perhaps the most important piece of the puzzle, however, was the emergence of Dave Roth, the ex-Oriole. Roth's pitching certainly fulfilled management's hopes of providing excitement for the plant's employees. After all, the argument went, the baseball team—part of a "welfare" entertainment scheme pushed by Schwab and top management—made workers more productive:

> It has been learned . . . that human beings will not tie themselves to any job and remain contented without a certain amount of recreation . . . which will force them to toss aside the cares of their occupation. Baseball, being the great American pastime, made the strongest appeal, so a league had been organized for the men. The players have no contracts, but employment cards instead.[38]

Other Bethlehem plants refurbished fields or built new ones to accommodate the spirit of "welfare" entertainment and wholeheartedly entered into the creation of "fast" squads in other sports that included football, basketball, and soccer.[39]

Fans travelled to Scammel Field in their own cars, in autos provided by the company or by train. Saturday games were common, but during the week some

departments closed at 3:00 P.M. to permit workers to watch. Although the crowds at Scammel field were not quite as large as the three thousand attracted by a double header at Steelton or the four thousand at a game with Harlan in Wilmington, as many as 2,500 attended games in Baltimore to listen to the plant band and watch the ball team. Sometimes a few hundred fans and the band accompanied the team to away games. Steel League fans came to see not only their local heroes, but former major leaguers like Eddie Plank and "Chief" Bender, established stars such as "Shoeless Joe" Jackson, and youngsters like the "Ozark Bear," Jeff Tesreau, or Jackson's teammate, Byrd Lynn. Although it is true that fans focused primarily on the performance of the players, the antics of the crowd and umpires belonged to the game too. According to one Steel League publication, "An umpire is sometimes call 'Umps' and sometime he is called other things, but we cannot mention them. This is not that kind of paper." By mid-June, secure in the support of their own fans and with the success of Steel League assured, Sparrows Point executives created a "sub Steel League." This inter-departmental baseball program fielded eight uniformed clubs: the Oxy-Acetylene, Machine Shop, Fabricating Shop, Fitters, Dock Department, Tin Shop, Pipe Shop, and Layers Out.[40]

Meanwhile, Baltimore fans followed the excitement of their favorite home town major leaguer, "Babe" Ruth, as he grabbed national headlines with his heroics for the BoSox. The *Sun* carried numerous stories of Ruth's success that season. Headlines referred to his pitching prowess, league-leading batting average, and home run power: RUTH BRIGHTEST STAR, RUTH'S BAT WINS GAME, RUTH LIKE A WILD MAN, RUTH AGAIN LOSES BALL. By early June a *Sun* sports page headline announced: RUTH IS GREATEST PLAYER EVER TURNED OUT BY MARYLAND. The article dismissed potential rivals such as Hughey Jennings, Willie Keeler, John McGraw, Joe Kelley, Sadie McMahon, Matt Kilroy, Bobbie Mathews, Dave Foutz, Frank Baker, and Buck Herzog. The report lauded Ruth for his "sheer natural ability," his being in a "class by himself when it comes to all-around play" at first base, in the outfield and on the mound, and praised his hitting as "phenomenal, because he not only gets homers but makes so many other safe drives" that he leads the American League in batting. The writer admitted that Ruth was "no speed merchant but he is not a truck horse." Ruth's emerging talents were making him as popular as the best players in baseball such as Ty Cobb, George Sisler, and Tris Speaker. The next day yet another story appeared: BALTIMORE HOME OF SWATTERS. The sports writer explained how Ruth's .312 batting average placed him ahead of Dave Foutz, a retired Baltimore hitter and pitcher who had played for the St. Louis Browns in the 1880s. Foutz, "a regular Goliath," had hit fifteen homers in the majors; by mid-season, Ruth had already belted sixteen career homers.[41]

Late in June, Ruth considered jumping to an industrial team. Problems on the Red Sox arose because Ruth balked at shifting between the pitcher's mound

and the outfield. Boston veteran Harry Hooper, commenting on the experiment, represented it as "wild men, hollering all the time, running after every ball."[42] The situation invited speculation from sportswriters. After Ruth's first outfield game, one in which he failed to achieve a hit, C. M. Gibbs, who wrote a column for the *Sun* called "Sparks from Abe's Hammer," remarked cryptically: "This might prove anything but it don't prove nothin'."[43]

Manager Ed Barrow was not an easy man to play for, and Ruth's off-field habits left him vulnerable to criticism. A crisis erupted after a game with Washington. Barrow blasted Ruth's play, and the star left the team and returned to Baltimore in a huff. Although he claimed to be unconcerned about his draft status, Ruth wired a shipyard in Chester, Pennsylvania, of his intent to join its team. He would not have been the first Red Sox player to join an industrial squad. Late in June, first Dutch Leonard and then George Gaskell hooked up with Fore River, the Steel League club in Quincy, Massachusetts. The *Chester Times* reported: "Manager Frank Miller, of the Chester combination received a telegram from "Babe" Ruth, the home run clouter and twirler of the Boston Americans, that he will come from Washington to play with the Chester team. It is understood that Miller has signed him for the remainder of the season." According to the Chester paper, Ruth planned to arrive in time to play against Sun Shipbuilding, which might include the Philadelphia Athletics' George Whitted, "Rube" Bressler, and Jack Watson. The *New York Times,* in a story out of Philadelphia, said that Boston management might use an injunction to keep Ruth from playing with another team. When interviewed at a bar on South Eutaw Street in Baltimore—he was tending it at the time—Ruth told a reporter: "Just say I don't know what I'll do."[44] Shortly afterward, he rejoined the Red Sox, retrieved by a teammate and friend, Charles "Heinie" Wagner. Ruth claimed that he had not really quit the team and made it clear that the draft had not induced him to leave Boston for Chester. "I am in class 4," he said, "being 24 years old and married, but we have all signed up to do our bit after the season. However, any time they want me they only have to call, for I'll go." Later in July, rumors placed him at Fore River and also with the Baltimore Dry Docks team, but fans in Boston and in Baltimore would have to wait for the end of the major league season for Ruth's Steel League decision.[45]

As the summer of 1918 progressed, the slacker issue increased in intensity. The topic gathered momentum when Senator Page of New Hampshire grabbed headlines with complaints about "camouflage ship workers" in the Portsmouth Navy Yard in New Hampshire and the Shattuck Shipyard in Maine.[46] An article in the *Baltimore Sun,* based on an interview with Lt. Harry McCormick, reveals the depth of discontent with ballplayers. McCormick, who had seen action in France, reported that *Stars and Stripes,* the armed services newspaper, had stopped printing major league scores and standings because, once overseas, soldiers came

to feel that "there has been too much evasion, too much hanging back, too much side-stepping by the ball players. . . . The boys are generally incensed over the statements they read to the effect that ball players have sought work in munitions plants and shipyards, where they can still keep on playing ball. They regard that as ducking. . . . dodging the issue."[47]

Comments like McCormick's may have displeased some Baltimoreans, who appeared unfazed by ballplayers' shifting from teams or leagues. What accounts for this ambivalent position about professional baseball in Baltimore? The answer probably rests in the history of the sport, with its numerous changes in franchises and frequent switching of players from team to team. In the 1890s the city held a major league franchise, but its popularity waned after management sold its best players to Brooklyn. In 1902 the new American League's Baltimore Orioles folded after Manager John McGraw, jumping to the New York Giants, took his best players with him. The Federal League temporarily re-established a major league franchise, but when the league failed, the Orioles resurfaced under Jack Dunn as a minor league franchise.[48]

The coming and going of players between teams in the International League and the majors, or for that matter in the pre-war industrial leagues, may have helped develop this attitude. The Eastern Shore's "Home Run" Baker, for example, had quit Connie Mack's Athletics in a dispute over money before joining the Delaware County League in Pennsylvania.[49] Wilson "Chick" Fewster started the 1918 season in the International League with the Orioles before moving up to the Yankees; then he returned to Baltimore as a member of Sparrows Point and also played for the Baltimore Semi-Pro League. As minor leagues failed, numerous players like those in the Blue Ridge League returned to jobs in Baltimore and to industrial and semi-pro teams. The local paper also followed the successes of Baltimoreans and ex-International Leaguers on service ball teams. Lefty Thompson, once of Toronto in the International League, pitched the 313th Regiment, which consisted of Baltimoreans, to the Camp Meade championship. Some of these Camp Meade soldiers also played on weekends for Irvington in the Baltimore Semi-Pro League.[50] Lost in the squabbling was the fact that many ball players worked in industries during the off season. For example, players on the Harlan team in Wilmington, Delaware, who had previous industrial experience included Joe O'Rourke, who had put in twelve years at Cramp's shipyard before going to the majors. "Patsy" Gharrity worked with steam engines, Claude "Lefty" Williams was a woodworker, Byrd Lynn was a boilermaker. Although public discussion and congressional investigations eventually resulted in tighter restrictions on ballplayers in Steel League and other industrial plants, they also revealed that many ballplayers were productive patriotic workers.[51]

By late July, Brown's (.440) and Russell's (.341) averages placed them among the Steel League's top batters, with Catiz, High, and O'Rourke bunched around

.260. In late June and early July, Sparrow's Point had won four in a row behind the pitching of Dave Roth. Steelton brought the streak to a halt by sweeping a double-header. In August, however, Pointers fans could delight in stories from other papers such as the *Boston Globe*'s account of a game at Fore River. Roth had outpitched Dutch Leonard, and with help from Lefty Russell, "Connie Mack's former $10,000 prize," who had three hits, Sparrows Point triumphed over its rival. Thus, after a miserable start, Sparrows Point recouped to finish the season with a 10-10 record and tied for third place in the Steel League. Although the team batting average was only .230, some individuals had played well. O'Rourke (.342) remained among the best hitters in the league; Sparrows Point players made opposition all-star teams, such as the All-Bethlehem choices—O'Rourke (rf), Fewster (2b) and Russell (1b), and Davy Roth proved to be a successful pitcher. After winning two games in relief, Roth added five more victories for a total of seven wins and three losses. During the season the Sparrows Point twirler had bested major-league talent such as Jess Buckles, Leonard, Plank, and Tesreau.[52]

Baltimore and the nation watched Boston finish on top in the American League pennant race. One exuberant Baltimore reporter wrote:

> [Ruth's] a one-man team. . . . some compliment to the young man, who a few years ago, was turned over to Jack Dunn by St. Mary's Industrial School. . . .
>
> "There goes our ball club," said one of the lads when Dunn led Babe from the reform school.
>
> "There is our ball club," say the Boston fans, the experts and the wiseacres who favor the Red Sox.[53]

When the baseball season came to a close on September 11 with Boston's World Series victory over the draft-depleted Chicago Cubs, Ruth, twice the winning pitcher, had to decide where to take his talents. The papers printed rumor after rumor—he would barnstorm with his Red Sox teammates, he would accept one of the numerous Steel League proposals. Going to Baltimore was not out of the question. After all, by now, even the Baltimore Dry Docks were caught up in the competition for ex-major leaguers. That team, after the end of the Baltimore Semi-Pro League season, had increased its profile by playing area teams to show off its recently acquired four ex-big leaguers—Joe Judge, Fritz Maisel, Eddie Ainsmith, and Chuck Wortman.[54] Ruth maintained that he had seven offers from which to choose. In the end, the Boston hero chose Lebanon and a job as a blueprint messenger.[55] Baltimoreans, of course, read with interest about the possibility of seeing the Boston slugger on industrial league fields. Ruth never did play for Lebanon in Baltimore. In September legal complications resulting from his father's death drew him away from the Pennsylvania plant to his home

town.[56] Meanwhile, Bethlehem management, wary of the escalating competition for professionals, announced what was to be the end of the Steel League:

> We are going to concentrate as much of our attention as possible on making ships. . . . The men have been diverted too much . . . the men themselves complain that they are led to waste too much time getting ready for athletic events, and too much time recovering from them. . . . The kind of professionalism that we have serves no purpose. It has now become only a question of who can pay the highest salaries to a few stars.[57]

On November 11 the fighting overseas stopped. Ruth and other professionals eagerly re-signed with their teams to prepare for the upcoming 1919 major league season.

Larger than other Steel League cities, and possessed of a rich tradition in the sport, Baltimore held a special position within the Bethlehem Steel League. Thousands of fans traveled to Scammel Field at Sparrows Point to listen to the plant band and watch hometown heroes match skills with their Steel League opponents and major league talent, including some of the game's biggest names. After a bumpy beginning, the scrappy Sparrows Point squad delivered not just baseball, but good baseball, finishing in a tie for third place with an even 10-10 record. While other towns witnessed social and labor controversies and became caught up in disputes over "slackerism" and Sunday baseball, Baltimoreans largely overlooked such turmoil for the love of the game. That hometown favorite "Babe" Ruth might join the league briefly raised the city's hopes even further. Although short-lived, the Bethlehem Steel League clearly caught the town's fancy. Indeed, Charles Schwab's capitalist venture, meant to improve war-time morale while marketing his massive corporation, had done what baseball does best: provide excitement and allow fans to dream.

Appendix A: Steel League Standings

Team	Won	Lost	Percentage
Bethlehem	12	8	.600
Steelton	12	8	.600
Wilmington	10	10	.500
Sparrows Point	10	10	.500
Lebanon	9	11	.450
Fore River	7	13	.350

Note: Bethlehem and Steelton finished the season with identical records. In a playoff for the championship, Steelton defeated Bethlehem. During the regular season, Fore River forfeited at least one game because five of its regulars had been drafted. See Bethlehem Booster, *October 1918, BSCR, Hagley.*

Appendix B: Baltimore Baseball Leagues, 1918

Amateur League
- Chester Athletic Club
- Elm Boys' Club
- Fernwood Athletic Club
- Mercury Athletic Club
- Mount Washington

Baltimore Semi-Pro
- Baltimore Drydocks
- Highland Athletic Club
- Irvington
- St. Andrews

City and Suburban
- Cross Country Club
- Gardenvilles
- Guilford
- Lauraville Country Club
- Omar Baseball Club
- St. Gerard's

Industrial
- Chesapeake Iron Works
- Davison Chemical Company
- John T. Lewis Company
- Newark Shoe Company
- Lord Baltimore Press
- Universal Machine

International
- Orioles

Independent Teams
- Bartlett Hayward-Hospital
- Curtis Bay All-Stars
- Pimlico Athletic Club
- St. Patrick's Country Club
- Truxton Athletic Club

Bartlett-Hayward
- Four-Seven Club
- Forge Plant
- Old Plants
- Seventy-five M.M.

Note: These teams played on fields around the city. Among the ball fields listed in the Baltimore Sun *are: Carroll Park, Clifton Park, Gwynns Falls Park, Mount Washington, Patterson Park, River View, Shamrock Park, Standard Oil Oval, Turners Station, Union League Park, Yockel's Park, and Oriole Park.*

Appendix C: Sparrows Point Roster, 1918

Name	Position	Joined Team	Information
Brown, Tom	of	1917	loaned to Orioles, June 1918
Catiz, J.	3b	1917	semi-professional leagues
Cranston, William	2b	1918	semi-professional leagues
Donohue, _____	p	1918	Richmond, Int'l league
Emhling, Al	p	1918	semi-professional leagues
Fewster, Wilson	infield	1918	b. Baltimore; New York Yankee
Hughie High	of	1918	New York Yankee
Miller, ____	of		
Monroe, Ed	p	1918	New York Yankee
O'Rourke, Jimmy	rf	1917	semi-professional league
Priest, Johnny	2b, of	1918	New York Yankee
Roth, B.		1918	
Roth, Dave	p	1917	Orioles
Russell, Allan		1918	New York Yankee
Russell, L.	1b	1918	b. Baltimore; Philadelphia A's
Schaufele	c		semi-professional leagues
Smith, Gus	c	1918	New York Giants
Walsh, D. "Doc"			semi-professional leagues
Walsh, Jimmy "Runt"	ss	1917	Phila., St. Louis and Federal
Towson, Tom	mgr.		

The list of players was compiled from box scores and news stories in the Baltimore Sun, *May through October 1918. For information about those who played in the majors, see Thorn and Palmer,* Total Baseball: *Fewster (1101), High (1181), Monroe (1844), Priest (1387), A. Russell, (1912–13), L. Russell (1913), and Walsh (1926). Apparently only Fewster and A. Russell played in the majors after 1918. Dave Roth is linked to Chicago in the American League and Gus Smith to the New York Giants (*Wilmington [Del.] Every Evening, *May 14, 1918), but neither appears in* Total Baseball.

NOTES

1. As part of the war effort, the government and private industry set up an umbrella agency, the Emergency Fleet Corporation, under the supervision of Charles Schwab, President of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation. Eugene Murdock, *Ban Johnson: Czar of Baseball* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1917), 263n; Robert Hessen, *Steel Titan: The Life of Charles M. Schwab* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975), 229–44; *Wilmington (Del.) Morning News,* August 18 1918.
2. Harold Seymour, *Baseball: The Golden Age* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), 244–46.
3. Murdock, *Ban Johnson,* 120–23.
4. *Wilmington (Del.) Every Evening,* June 11, 1918; *Sporting News,* February 2, 1918;

Harrington Crissey, "Baseball and the Armed Services," in John Thorn and Pete Palmer, eds., *Total Baseball* (New York: Warner Books, 1989), 616–17.

5. Murdock, *Ban Johnson,* 128, 264n. *Bethlehem Star Union Plant,* 1 (December 1918) and *Sporting News,* August 15 and 29, 1918. By 1918 each Bethlehem Steel League plant produced a magazine or newspaper; the sports section was an integral part of each issue. The best collection of available materials is located in the Bethlehem Steel Corporation Records, Hagley Museum, Wilmington, Delaware [hereafter BSCR, Hagley].

6. *Wilmington (Del.) Evening Journal,* June 11 and 26, 1918; *Sporting News,* May 30 and July 11, 1918; *Baltimore Sun,* June 11 and September 2, 1918; *Boston Daily Globe,* July 2 and 7, 1918; *Bethlehem (Penna.) Globe Times,* July 31, 1918; *Chester (Penna.) Times,* July 6, 1918; *Lebanon (Penna.) Daily News,* June 6 and October 7, 1918.

Bethlehem Steel's Ship Yard League included teams from plants along the Delaware River in Wilmington, Delaware; Bristol, Chester, and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; and Camden, New Jersey. See *The Chester (Penna.) Commercial,* May 1918.

7. *The Fore River Log* (May 1918), *The Bethlehem Booster* (October 1918), BSCR, Hagley. For information on Rogers Hornsby, who played first for the Wilmington team in the Ship Yard League and then switched to Lebanon and Reading, Pennsylvania, see *Lebanon Daily News,* October 10, 1918.

8. Elizabeth Fee, Linda Shopes and Linda Zeidman, eds., *The Baltimore Book: New Views of Local History* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991), 103, 114. See also, Mark Reutter, *Sparrows Point: Making Steel* (New York: Summit Books, 1988).

9. Fee, Shopes, and Zeidman, *The Baltimore Book,* 175.

10. Ibid., 175–77; Hessen, *Steel Titan,* 265; *Iron Age,* February 28, 1918, 550.

11. *Baltimore Sun,* June 28, 1918. For a list of leagues that played in Baltimore, see appendix no. 2.

12. *Baltimore Sun,* June 9, 1918.

13. Ibid., May 8 and 17, 1918. For more on President Charles Schwab's thinking about recreational entertainment, see William Ecenbarger, "The Year Ruth was a Dodger," *Philadelphia Inquirer,* n.d., photocopy, Lebanon Historical Society, Lebanon, Pennsylvania.

14. *Baltimore Sun,* May 12 and 18 and June 26, 1918.

15. Hessen, *Steel Titan,* 243.

16. For the full story and photo of the winners, see *Baltimore Sun,* May 17, 1918. A gang usually included eight men—riveters, heater boys, holders-on, and passers. For more detail about the type of work carried out at the plant, see the articles written by a woman reporter who joined the riveters, *Baltimore Sun,* May 9 and 12, 1918. During the summer of 1918, Sparrows Point did hire some women in its electrical repair shop (*Baltimore Sun,* July 14, 1918).

For the impact of WWI on African Americans, such as the availability of industrial jobs in the northeast and the growth of industrial teams, see Neil Lanctot, "Fair Dealing and Clean Playing: Ed Bolden and the Hilldale Team, 1910–1932," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,* 113 (1993): 17–18. In Wilmington, Harlan sponsored a team for its African-American workers (Dalleo and Watchorn, "Slugger or Slacker? Shoeless Joe Jackson and Baseball in Wilmington, 1918," *Delaware History,* 26 [1995–96]: 109–12) but the *Sun* does not refer to one for Sparrows Point. The Steel League team at Bethlehem played against visiting African-American teams (*Bethlehem [Penna.] Globe,* July 23, 1918).

17. *Baltimore Sun,* May 17 and 18, 1918. For information about a strike at the Bethlehem plant, see *Allentown (Penna.) Morning Call,* August 2, 1918. For a similar conflict over working conditions at a Bethlehem Steel plant, Fore River, see *Iron Age,* August 23, 1917, 331.

18. *Baltimore Morning Sun,* June 15, 1918.
19. Ibid., June 12, 1918.
20. For "Runt" Walsh's major league career, see Thorn and Palmer, *Total Baseball,* 1526 and 1980. For a roster of the 1918 Sparrows Point team, see appendix no. 3.
21. *Baltimore Sun,* May 29, 1918. See also ibid., May 11, 1918.
22. For their major league records, see Thorn and Palmer, *Total Baseball,* 1387, 1844, and 1912–13. See also, *Wilmington (Del.) Every Evening,* May 14, 1918.
23. *Baltimore Sun,* June 12, 1918. See also ibid., May 8, 1918.
24. Ibid., May 24 and 26, June 12, 13, 14, and 16, 1918.
25. Ibid., June 13, 18, and 23, 1918. Ban Johnson approached Schwab about Steel League recruitment, but the latter claimed he knew nothing about it. Schwab did promise to stop any abuses (Murdock, *Ban Johnson,* 126).
26. *Baltimore Sun,* May 19 and 26, June 19, July 14, and August 14, 1918.
27. Ibid., June 12, 1918.
28. Ibid., July 6, 1918. Ruth, who held a deferment as a married man, had joined the Massachusetts Home Guard (Marshall Smelser, *The Life That Ruth Built* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1975), 105–6.
29. The Blue Ridge League included Cumberland, Hagerstown, Martinsburg, and Piedmont. See *Baltimore Sun,* June 7, 9, 11, and 12 and July 13, 1918. Ten minor leagues had started the season. In 1917, of the twenty-one minor leagues, nine had failed. See Bob Hoie, "The Minor Leagues," in *Total Baseball,* 589. See also, Paul Zingg and Marc D. Medfors, *Runs, Hits and an Era: The Pacific Coast League 1903–58* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994).
30. *Baltimore Sun,* July 16 and September 2, 1918. *The Sporting News,* July 4, 1918, carried an editorial about the twenty-three-year-old Parnham, his wife and children, and the draft. International League teams included Baltimore, Binghamton, Buffalo, Jersey City, Newark, Rochester, Syracuse, and Toronto. Parnham had played for the Philadelphia Athletics in 1916 and in 1917 (Thorn and Palmer, *Total Baseball,* 1873).
31. *Sporting News,* May 30, 1918.
32. *Baltimore Sun,* June 11 and 12, 1918. Dunn entered the fray in 1907 and in the succeeding year captured his first championship. The creation of the Federal League's entry, the Terrapins, threatened minor league stability. Dunn could not compete with the Federal League and sold off many of his best players. His aborted attempt to move the franchise to Richmond resulted in his purchasing the Jersey City squad, which he then moved to Baltimore. In 1916 he moved the team to newly renamed Oriole Park, the former home of a Federal League team at Greenmount Avenue and Twenty-Ninth Street. Meanwhile, George H. "Babe" Ruth Jr. had started 1914 pitching for Dunn's Orioles, only to be sold to the Boston Red Sox. Dunn next had to survive the brief but real threat of the Steel League years before building an International League dynasty from 1919 to 1925. See Neil J. Sullivan, *The Minors: The Struggles & Triumph of Baseball's Poor Relation from 1876 to Present* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990), 71–77; Ted Patterson, *The Baltimore Orioles: Forty Years of Magic from 33rd Street* (Dallas, Texas: Taylor Publications, 1994), 7–10; Lloyd Johnson & Miles Wolff, *The Encyclopedia of Minor League Baseball* (Durham, N.C.: Baseball America, 1992), 137, 148.
33. *Baltimore Sun,* May 14, 21, and 28, and June 6, 1918. Since 1911, the Baltimore City Council had passed three similar bills. For a broader discussion of the impact on the working class of the major league decision to play baseball games on Sundays in Chicago, New York, and Atlanta, see Steven Reiss, "Professional Sunday Baseball, a Study in Social Reform, 1892–1934," *Maryland Historian,* 4 (1974): 95–108.

34. *Baltimore Sun,* June 20, 1918.
35. *Wilmington (Del.) Every Evening,* June 15, 1918.
36. *Baltimore Sun,* June 4, 1918; for his career, see Thorn and Palmer, *Total Baseball,* 1181.
37. *Baltimore Sun,* June 4, 1918; for Fewster's career, see Thorn and Palmer, *Total Baseball,* 1101. Fewster, like High, played in the Semi-Pro League while waiting to join the Pointers (*Baltimore Sun,* June 16, 1918).
38. *Baltimore Sun,* May 8, 1918.
39. *The Chester (Penna.) Commercial,* May 1918. Dalleo and Watchorn, "Slugger or Slacker," 107, 118–19, and Dalleo and Watchorn, "Sultan of Swat or Slacker? Babe Ruth and the Bethlehem Steel League, 1918," paper presented at the Babe Ruth Conference, Hofstra University, April 1995.
40. Among the umpires who officiated at games were Daniel Barry, George Bowers, Harry Coady, ____ Dowd, John McBride, Fred Marks, Augie Moran, John Reilly, William Rudolph, and Harry Wagner (*The Bethlehem Booster,* October 1, 1918, BSCR, Hagley). See also, *Baltimore Sun,* May 29 and June 14, 1918.
41. Ibid., May 12, June 5 and 6, and July 7, 1918.
42. Paul Zingg, *Harry Hooper: An American Baseball Life* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1963), 162; *Baltimore Sun,* May 8, 1918. Of 126 regular season games played by Boston that year, Ruth is listed as an outfielder in fifty-nine; he had the lowest fielding percentage among Red Sox outfielders (.950). As a pitcher, Ruth was 13–7 with a 2.22 ERA. He led the team with a .300 batting average, hit eleven of the team's fifteen home runs, and topped the league with a .555 slugging percentage (Zingg, *Harry Hooper,* 160–64).
43. Robert Creamer, *Babe: The Legend Comes to Life* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1960), 160, 162–65. Chester, which had an entry in Bethlehem's Delaware River Shipyard League, had 3,500 workers and four ways for building and launching ships (*Chester [Penna.] Commercial,* August 1918). *Chester (Penna.) Times,* June 29 and July 3, 1918; *New York Times,* July 8, 1918; *Baltimore Sun,* July 4, 1918;
44. *Boston Globe,* July 4 and 5, 1918.
45. Quoted in Creamer, *Babe,* 162–65. Ruth, born in 1895, was actually twenty-three. Most of his life, he thought he had been born in 1894.
46. *Boston Daily Globe,* July 22, 1918 and the *Bethlehem Globe Times,* July 24, 1918.
47. *Chester Times,* July 9, 1918. For the best overview of the baseball/slacker question and congressional investigations and reports, see Murdock, *Ban Johnson,* 128–30.
48. *Baltimore Sun,* August 15, 1918. The paper identified McCormick as an ex-major leaguer, presumably Harry H. "Moose" McCormick, who played for three National League clubs from 1904–13. A Pennsylvanian, McCormick was thirty-seven in 1918. See Thorn and Palmer, *Total Baseball,* 1295. For more information about the *Stars and Stripes'* decision, see *Wilmington (Del.) Evening Journal,* August 8 and October 25, 1918.

For information about players in the Federal League, which existed in 1914 and 1915, see Harold Dellinger, "Rival Leagues," in *Total Baseball,* 576–78. For information about Baltimore baseball history prior to 1918, see Sullivan, *The Minors,* 71–76, and Patterson, *The Baltimore Orioles,* 7–9.
49. Frank Baker left to play for the Upland team (*Chester [Penna.] Commercial,* May 1918).
50. For news items about service teams, see *Baltimore Sun,* May 2, June 2 and 20, August 19, and September 18, 1918. For those concerning league shifts in Baltimore, see ibid., May 5 and 22, June 16, July 28, and Sepbember 16 and 19, 1918.
51. *Wilmington Evening Journal,* June 20, 1918 and *Every Evening,* May 2, 1918; Dalleo and Watchorn, "Slugger or Slacker?," 106–8, 113–14.

52. *Wilmington Evening Journal,* July 27, 1918; *Boston Globe,* August 9, 1918; *Bethlehem Booster,* August and October 1918, BSCR, Hagley; *Baltimore Sun,* June 23 and 30, July 5 and 12, and August 11 and 18, 1918. To date we have found box scores for only nineteen of the twenty games played by Sparrows Point.
53. *Baltimore Sun,* September 4, 1918.
54. Ibid., September 30, 1918. Ainsmith and Judge played for the Washington Americans, Maisel for the St. Louis Americans, and Wortman for the Chicago Cubs. See Thorn and Palmer, *Total Baseball,* 928, 1217, 1275, and 1555.
55. In his autobiography Ruth claimed that he toyed with an offer from Fore River (Babe Ruth and Bob Considine, *The Babe Ruth Story* [New York: Signet, 1963], 58–59), but he actually had numerous possibilities. For a detailed discussion of his deliberations over playing for Lebanon, see Dalleo and Watchorn, "Sultan of Swat or Slacker?" 7–9. Apparently Providence, where he had played minor league ball, was also an option he rejected. See Kerry Keene, Raymond Sinibaldi, and David Hickey, *The Babe in Red Stockings: An In-depth Chronicle of Babe Ruth with the Boston Red Sox, 1914–1919* (Champaign, Ill.: Sagamore, 1997), 215.
56. *Boston Globe,* August 26, 1918 and *Lebanon Daily News,* October 11, 1918.
57. *Baltimore Sun,* October 21, 1918.

Book Reviews

John Quincy Adams: A Public Life, A Private Life. By Paul C. Nagel. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1997. 432 pages. Source essay, index. $30.00.)

In *John Quincy Adams: A Public Life, A Private Life,* Paul C. Nagel extends his account of the New England Adams dynasty that began with his much-acclaimed volumes *Descent from Glory* (1983) and *The Adams Women* (1987). This newest addition to the series has many fine qualities; nonetheless, the order of the book's subtitle should have been reversed, since Nagel's treatment of Adams is strongest in dealing with the private side of his subject. The book is a superb account of John Quincy Adams's emotional experience and development. Much of the material is drawn from the famous diary that Adams maintained throughout most of his life. The resulting portrait of Adams is a sensitive presentation that does justice to the turbulent moods—from an intermittently frosty, stiff, and morose outlook to the charming, convivial, and amorous qualities—that swirled through Adams's mind as he struggled to forge his identity year by year.

Some critics of Nagel's book have complained that his treatment of Adams amounts to "armchair psychiatry," whose value is problematical. Nonsense. There is nothing far-fetched about Nagel's approach to Adams's emotional life. The presentation is convincing, and the psychological issues—family politics, depression, transference of aggression—were among the most significant challenges that Adams ever faced. The challenges were hardly exotic; to the contrary, they amounted to the sorts of neuroses that probably afflict almost everyone at some time or other. But in this case they were present in severe form: Adams suffered from recurrent bouts of devastating depression, which alarmed his family and friends.

Some of these episodes were probably induced by the behavior of parents John and Abigail Adams. Though sometimes beneficial, the heavy parental pressures applied to John Quincy Adams were often disastrously clumsy and counter-productive. Moreover, whatever her admirable qualities, Abigail Adams comes off in this book as a veritable mother from hell: repressive, demanding, angry, nagging, and punitive. She ruined John Quincy Adams's love affair with a woman named Mary Frazier, and she tried to get away with blighting his marriage until she discovered that his wife Louisa was too clever and spirited to succumb to her power games.

Much of the conflict in Adams's emotional make-up derived from the tension between his desire to live up to his father's example and expectation—to carry on his father's legacy of public service—and the side of his nature that

sought a more casual life in the pleasures of literature and music, thereby coincidentally rebelling against the predetermined Adams family agenda. The result was a tendency toward listlessness alternating with periods of self-enforced discipline (both intellectual and physical) and self-chastisement. As Nagel demonstrates, Adams's fitful struggle to define himself developed into a series of career episodes that were sometimes torture but sometimes blessings in disguise. An ironic pattern repeatedly developed in which Adams was swept along back-end-first into preliminarily daunting but often very stimulating adventures. An opportunity presented itself, Adams flinched in dread. Then, after yielding with a mixture of fatalism and self-pity to the burdensome "duty," Adams gradually discovered the benefits and pleasures of his new situation, all the while flailing himself for his failure to make the most of it.

The happiest years of Adams's life—at least in the sense of serenity and peace of mind—were his years abroad as America's ambassador to Great Britain. Indeed, his diplomatic career combined professional satisfaction, the pleasures of the social whirl, globe-trotting tourism, and cultural enrichment. The most embittering years of his life were his ill-starred years in the White House. He was vilified, thwarted, and ousted after serving one term. There was consolation of a sort, for something similar had happened to his father. But the failure of John Quincy Adams's presidency—an oft-told tale—was worsened by subsequent family tragedies. Adams hounded and scolded his two eldest sons in a manner that grimly re-enacted the behavior he had suffered from his mother. Not surprisingly, his sons George and John made messes of their lives, and they both met untimely deaths, the latter through alcoholism and the former through apparent suicide. A gentle note of compensation may be found in the amusing manner in which the third son, Charles Francis Adams, turned the tables on his father: in a parent-child role-reversal, the son saved the family fortune from John Quincy Adams's folly in financial matters. To his credit, Adams was grateful for this filial rescue.

Nagel's book develops great dramatic power as it tells how these years of gall and wormwood yielded to the post-presidential triumph of John Quincy Adams, who was elected to the House of Representatives, there to transform himself into a champion of just causes. On two related issues, Adams emerged as a fearless spokesman for the antislavery movement. In the name of free speech, he fought the southern "gag rule" that shut off congressional debate on antislavery petitions. In the name of free soil, he fought the annexation of Texas and opposed the Mexican War, predicting that a civil war might have to be fought to put an end to the expansion of slavery. Through the joy of battle in a righteous cause came emotional release from all the years of pent-up frustration. Moreover, the fiery crusade of John Quincy Adams brought him vast acclaim and veneration in his final years.

While Nagel's biography is very successful in describing the emotional forces that shaped the character of John Quincy Adams, it is less successful in accounting for his intellectual development. Adams's ideas—his principles, philosophy, and statecraft—are not explored with the same keen insight through which Nagel elucidates his moods. In fairness, Nagel indirectly attempts to account for this by claiming that Adams "failed in his yearning to make a contribution to literature, philosophy, or science worthy of the world's admiration and gratitude." An emphasis on Adams's emotions might seem to be justified in light of the author's belief that his subject, for all of his considerable erudition, was actually more of a consumer than a generator of great ideas. But this sounds like more of a rationalization than a rationale. Much better, if necessary, to disavow a full-fledged biographical format in order to produce a frankly psychological study on its own terms: such things have a place, after all, and this book is a classic of its kind.

A more serious caveat: when Nagel contends at the end of the book that John Quincy Adams's "renown arises from his all-consuming desire for political vengeance"—when he states that the personal and moral victory of Adams's last crusade amounts to what "a bruised ego and thwarted ambition drove him to do"—he over-simplifies. He slights the degree to which history can sometimes create situations in which great challenges *demand* the sorts of personalities which, for whatever private reasons, revel in the joy of battle without which evils cannot be faced, let alone removed, in an admirable way. The case can be made that in his final years John Quincy Adams was a person who acted on mixed but profoundly congruent motives. For compelling personal reasons, he was consciously looking for a way to make a great and admired contribution to the public life of the United States. He could have done worse. If by taking a courageous stand on some momentous issues he simultaneously exorcised personal demons and found a new degree of self-respect, then we should toast his remarkable achievement. Can any of us claim to be immune from such ambiguities?

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Baltimore During the Civil War. Scott Sumpter Sheads and Daniel Carroll Toomey. (Linthicum, Md.: Toomey Press, 1997. 224 pages. Illustrations, notes, index. $24.95 cloth, plus $3 shipping.)

William Russell, correspondent for the *London Times,* happened to be in Baltimore on the morning of April 12, 1861. Just hours earlier that morning, Fort Sumter had been fired upon. Reclining in a barber's chair, his thoughts occupied by the South's momentous action, Russell probed the African-American attendant for his opinion. The unnamed Baltimorean replied cryptically, "Well, I guess that's the end." When Russell pressed him for meaning, the man

said, "the end of slavery." The Baltimore barber understood what many others refused to acknowledge, that force of arms must invariably change the lives of all involved, that civil war, fratricide on a national scale, would divide Baltimore along philosophical lines, undermine the social fabric, and influence both political and family alliances for generations.

Scott Sumpter Sheads and Daniel Carroll Toomey set out to produce the first overview of the wartime city, and they are to be applauded for their effort. The complexities of the city during those tumultuous years have eluded many popular histories, which have focused instead on the events of 1861 and the subsequent "administration" of Baltimore by federal troops, a misapplied term since the mayor and city council continued to forge legislation throughout the war. Sheads and Toomey draw upon the *Official Records of the War of the Rebellion* and a wide range of secondary sources to provide an illuminating, year-by-year account of noteworthy events in the city's life. The book is also remarkable in that it is the first of its kind to present facts without an overtly secessionist bias. That in itself is an achievement. It should, however, be noted that this effort is but a first step in the process of bringing about a greater understanding.

The book consists of seven chapters and five appendices. The appendices supply additional insight and detail, such as the location of forts and hospitals around Baltimore. Enthusiasts will appreciate the many illustrations, some appearing for the first time. *Baltimore During the Civil War* is a good read for the Civil War generalist.

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Everyday Architecture of the Mid-Atlantic: Looking at Buildings and Landscapes. By Gabrielle M. Lanier & Bernard L. Herman. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997. 420 pages. Illustrations, directory of resources, glossary, notes, bibliography, index. $55.00 cloth; $29.95 paper.)

This excellent book is not about architectural history but rather about how to look at and study a building, landscape, or townscape, and to understand their natural evolution. It will be of great use and interest to everyone interested in our built environment. As the authors state, "The book is designed to make those experiences accessible to a wide audience, to help people who are not architectural professionals look at, learn from, and enjoy historic buildings and landscapes." They go on to say that "buildings are viewed, not just as examples of a particular style or time period, but as above-ground archaeological sites, each building expressing its own sequence of historic changes."

The authors include examples of "house forms," describing and illustrating basic plans over two and a half centuries. This is followed by "house lots" with

the basic ancillary buildings that all residential buildings required up to this century. The examples described and illustrated are primarily from the Delmarva Peninsula and the Delaware River area. This is a plus for local readers who will find the buildings and landscapes familiar regional types.

Lanier and Herman write: "Our goal, as always, has not been to provide encyclopedic coverage. Instead, we introduce the examination of construction methods and materials as one of many overlapping ways to understand and interpret buildings. Just as sequences of additions, evidence of interior finishes, or nail types can confirm building periods, features such as architectural style or landscape treatment can also help to assign construction dates and offer insights into broader historical questions."

Their discussion of types of construction methods begins with earth-fast or post-in-the-ground buildings. This construction method is increasingly recognized as the usual method used in the Chesapeake region from the period of the earliest settlement to well into the eighteenth century. From foundations, the three major types of walls—masonry, frame construction, and log and plank construction—are explained. The changes from pit-sawing lumber to circular sawing and nail chronology are discussed and illustrated as aids in dating building construction and subsequent additions or alterations. The chapter ends with a description of the most common types of roof framing.

This is followed by a generalized but comprehensive survey of architectural styles from the early eighteenth century to the twentieth, from the simplest one- and two-room dwellings through the formal Georgian and Federal styles, Greek and Gothic Revival examples to the Shingle Style. Twentieth-century bungalows and four-square houses which are now recognized and studied as important design types are included.

The chapter "Recording Historic Buildings" is especially informative and will be useful to all readers. The authors discuss survey techniques, graphic documentation for both buildings and sites, photography, and documentary research. A word of caution to avoid frustration to the layman and emerging professional: In this reviewer's thirty-plus years of study and work with historic buildings and sites, he has never been able to make such neat and tidy field measurements and notes as are illustrated here, especially when measuring alone, without assistance, in an empty building in the depths of winter or in a building in danger of imminent collapse.

The authors provide an extensive glossary of architectural terms and a bibliography that will be of great use to the general reader. In addition, there is a directory of resources for documentary research in the Delaware Valley and the Chesapeake region. This last will certainly ease the research process. One wishes more authors were as considerate as Lanier and Herman of their readers' lack of knowledge to point the way to research sources.

The book is profusely illustrated with an excellent selection of drawings and photographs. The one criticism of this otherwise excellent book is the quality of their reproduction. While the drawings are crisp and clear, many of the photographs are murky. Is the problem caused by the use of slightly tinted paper or by the printing process? One suspects it is due to the color of the paper. Non-white paper seems to be "in" with book designers as the same problem of murky reproduction of photographs on similar paper is found in other recently published books.

Everyday Architecture in the Mid-Atlantic is more than timely. As the authors state, "Abandonment, neglect and increasing pressure from development have contributed to the loss of many early structures." It has been estimated that less than 10 percent of all the structures listed in the 1798 Federal Direct Tax for Queen Anne's County, Maryland, are still standing. This percentage is probably about the same for the entire Delmarva Peninsula and less for the western shore. If we are to learn about our historic built environment, more and more people must be encouraged to look, consider, and study what remains. "Our goal," Lanier and Herman have written, "... has been to give readers the tools to undertake this study and interpretation on their own." They have succeeded admirably. This is a first-rate book.

MICHAEL F. TROSTEL
Baltimore

Pickett's Charge in History and Memory. By Carol Reardon. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997. Maps, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. $29.95.)

The courageous infantry charge by the Army of Northern Virginia on July 3, 1863 at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, variously known as Pickett's Charge, the high water mark of the Confederacy, or the defeat of the Cause, has been treated with imagination, splendid research, and thoughtful organization in Carol Reardon's, *Pickett's Charge in History and Memory.* As the subtitle of the book suggests, an inherent conflict exists between reality and memory. Dr. Reardon, an associate professor at Pennsylvania State University, has analyzed the many forces that came into play in reporting this turning point of American history—newspaper accounts, military reports by opposing officers, diaries and letters of participants, and subsequent histories. She then identifies such controlling elements as state and military unit pride of accomplishment; the creativity of newspaper journalists; the political implications of the "Lost Cause"; the subsequent assessment of "blame" by Virginia troops; and, finally, efforts by participants on both sides to reconcile their differences in a series of reunions at the battle site. "Two powerful forces frame the way we recall past events," Reardon observes,

"the objectivity of history—the search for 'truth'—and the subjectivity of memory, which shapes perceptions of the 'truth.'" "History and memory have blended together so seamlessly over the years, that we cannot separate them now."

Reardon then relates the essentials: how the infantry maneuver became known as Pickett's Charge; how the Virginians manipulated the Richmond newspapers into concluding that Pickett's troops were the spearhead with all other troops merely in support; and finally, the steps taken to ensure that General Robert E. Lee's reputation remained stainless by focusing blame on someone else for the failure of the Army of Northern Virginia to carry the day. It is important initially to note that General George Pickett's division consisted of three brigades with a total of fifteen regiments engaged with anywhere from 4,200 to 6,000 troops in total. Besides Pickett's division, however, an additional thirty-two regiments made the charge, most members of two separate divisions under the respective commands of Generals James Johnston Pettigrew and Isaac Ridgeway Trimble. Their numbers exceeded the total in Pickett's division, and they marched across the same plain in the face of the same intense artillery and musket fire. Of the twenty regiments with the highest casualties on July 3, 1863, not one Virginia regiment was listed and six North Carolina regiments were, yet "history" appears largely to have ignored them. An exception: North Carolinian William R. Bond noted in his *Pickett's Men at Gettysburg*, that despite the "outcry [Pickett's men] raised about their slaughter . . . Pickett's division of dead men drew more rations than any division in the Army" only two weeks after the battle.

In a chapter fittingly entitled "Disconnected Threads," Reardon demonstrates how unreliable memories of the event were. One Union officer clearly recalled that the Confederate artillery barrage lasted one and a half hours, while another officer faced by the same barrage, insisted it had gone on for four hours. Different Union officers remember the Confederate troops arriving at the stone wall in (a) two lines of battle, (b) three lines of battle, or even (c) in a column.

Early reports of the battle were published in newspapers, and because newspapermen must collect disjointed facts and file stories quickly, opportunities for misinformation abounded. The practice of "clipping" articles verbatim was common among Southern newspapers, who typically clipped New York papers. Other Southern newspapers then clipped the Richmond papers verbatim, perpetuating mistakes and extending the blatant and total misrepresentation of facts. Since a story could be made more interesting if the truth were shaded and literary excesses resorted to, both were often done. The first report appeared on July 13 in a Richmond newspaper and noted that Hill's and Heth's divisions were primarily engaged in the charge "as well as a division of General Pickett." That was the last time Pickett's division took second place in the Richmond papers. From that point on, the charge was referred to as "Pickett's Charge," and thus it has come down to us in history.

It was a newspaperman, Jonathan Albertson of the *Richmond Inquirer,* who described Pickett's division as being in advance, supported on the right by Wilcox's brigade and on the left by Heth's division, commanded by Pettigrew. Albertson alleged that those in "support" were "mostly raw troops who had been recently brought from the South . . . and who had perhaps, never been under fire—who certainly had never been in a severe fight." This allegation drew an enraged response from Tennessee, Mississippi, Alabama, and North Carolina veterans. Archer's Tennessee brigade let it be known that they "were in the first line, *supporting no one.*" Alabamians and Floridians on Pickett's right, who lost from one-half to two-thirds of their men, agreed; they, too, were "in support of no one" and asked for "simple justice."

Next emerged the contentious issue of blame—why Pickett's Virginians had not carried the day. Virginia newspapers blamed the North Carolinians and other troops for having failed in their support, and accused them of having broken and run. Reardon points out that, following the war, it was imperative that Robert E. Lee's stainless reputation be maintained. His defenders, looking for a scapegoat found, or made, one of General James Longstreet. Following the war, the Southern Historical Society was established in Richmond and published a series of papers—all initially by Virginians—blaming Longstreet and the failure of the "supporting troops." This "betrayal" of Lee at Gettysburg, they concluded, ultimately led to the surrender at Appomattox. Pickett himself later became president of the society, and his men, firmly loyal to Longstreet (under whom they had served from the outset of the war), refused to join "the old dominion's attack" on him. In an ironic reversal, Pickett's men thus became apostates, and the Southern Historical Society Papers never again thereafter mentioned their battlefield accomplishments. A publication by a Philadelphia newspaper, entitled *Annals of the Civil War,* offered Pickett's Virginians the opportunity to state their viewpoint, and once again they placed blame for the defeat squarely on the shoulders of Pettigrew's and Trimble's "supporting troops."

The Union side, meanwhile, was not idle while this internecine warfare was taking place in the South. Men involved in the engagement published reminiscences, and so did some who were not. Newspaper correspondents, sensing that the final chapter might be written again, charged into the controversy. A number of Union officers sought to claim the fruits of victory for themselves at the expense of others. Perceptions differed, depending upon where Union troops were located along the line, as to which troops were in the Confederate spearhead and which Union outfits had successfully repulsed the charge. Obviously, in the clouds of artillery smoke, it would have been impossible for those to the north of the field who were receiving the brunt of the charge by Pettigrew and Trimble to see clearly a hundred yards to the south where Pickett's men were attacking, or still farther south, where the Alabamians and Floridians fought.

Reardon recognizes, as did William R. Bond, that the Virginians were ultimately victorious in the battle for public minds. In 1913, at the fiftieth anniversary reunion of the combatants, a few North Carolinians were present, but the majority of Confederate veterans attending were Virginians from Pickett's division, come to shake hands across the stone wall with the survivors of Webb's Philadelphia Brigade, who had met them there half a century earlier. Ultimately, perhaps, the most accurate assessment of what really happened—and how little we know of it—belongs to Lieutenant Frank Haskell, a Union survivor of the fierce fighting on Cemetery Ridge. In his diary, Haskell defined the problem that survivors, and historians, would face. "By and by, out of the chaos of truth and falsehood that the news papers hold, out of the disjointed mass of reports, out of the traditions and tales that come down from the field, some eye that never saw the battle will select, and some pen will write what will be named the history," he predicted. But "tradition, story, history—all will not efface the true grand epic of Gettysburg."

This is a superb, informative, highly readable book. Reardon's footnotes provide interesting reading and additional wealth of information and insight. The extent of her scholarship is evidenced by a nineteen-page bibliography. This reviewer has for many years been fascinated by this particular battle, has read many historical accounts (virtually all written by Southern authors), and has had the opportunity to read personal letters and diaries as well. Professor Reardon's book is surely the most balanced and objective.

William C. Trimble
Baltimore

Culture and Comfort: Parlor Making and Middle-Class Identity, 1850–1930. By Katherine C. Grier. (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997. 273 pages. Notes, index. $45.00 cloth, $22.50 paper.)

Culture and Comfort is an updated and abridged version of Grier's 1988 book, *Culture and Comfort: People, Parlors, and Upholstery, 1850–1930.* That original version, a coffee-table sized, richly illustrated text, was published in conjunction with an exhibit on Victorian material culture at the Strong Museum in Rochester, New York. In it, Grier charted the rise and fall of the Victorian parlor and documented the textile furnishings common in middle-class interiors. In the new *Culture and Comfort*, Grier does not make any major revisions in her argument, approach, or evidence, although three chapters and most of the illustrations from the original have been eliminated. However, readers familiar with the 1988 version should find this shorter book well edited, more readable, and tightly argued.

Using a wide variety of sources, including decorating and advice manuals,

etiquette books, trade and consumer catalogs, prints, photographs, and existing artifacts, Grier explores the meaning and significance of the furnishings in middle-class parlors. She focuses specifically on upholstery, including furniture, draperies, and other textiles, as they were "rich in expressive possibilities" (18). These objects constituted the most important "symbols" within the middle-class parlor and conveyed a family's values, character, and identity to its visitors. By creating a parlor, middle-class families signaled their participation in a broader, cosmopolitan "culture" of gentility. Yet the specific objects they chose also communicated their understanding of the value of "comfort," a domestic ideal which implied virtue, sincerity, and moderation. The parlor functioned as a site of conflict between these opposing ethics of cosmopolitan consumption and comfortable domesticity. Ideally, however, a parlor combined and harmonized those qualities, and functioned as a "comfortable theater" for self-presentation (ix).

Middle-class Americans first became aware of the possibility of having a parlor in the mid-nineteenth century through their exposure to "commercial parlors"—richly furnished rooms in hotels, steamboats, photographer's studios, and "model rooms" at fairs. These rooms provided the powerful experience of "simply being in a parlor," allowing middle-class families to imagine and then create similar rooms in their homes (23). For the middle class, the idea of owning and using such a formal space was fairly new. Since the mid-eighteenth century, wealthier Americans had used parlors as a social facade, a room in which to entertain "select company" of similar class and breeding. Nineteenth-century middle-class families used parlors to present their own "public face," although this presentation occurred within a much smaller social circle. Books on the "household arts" gave advice on appropriate decor. Between 1850 and 1880, ornate matched sets ("suites") of furniture, wall-to-wall carpets, fancy drapery, decorative lamps, and elaborate center tables constituted the requirements of a well-furnished parlor. After 1880, more embellishments, including draped furnishings and organs, became common. Middle-class families understood the meaning these objects communicated. French-style furnishings created a "theater of culture," while less ostentatious objects could express middle-class "virtuous civility" (91).

Domestic advisors invariably warned against the foibles of "fashionable" furnishing, and cautioned families not to exceed their means when decorating a parlor. Similarly, etiquette and "parlor pastime" book authors emphasized the need for disciplined self-control within its walls. This concern with self-control was linked to fears over the effect of rooms furnished with fashionable consumer goods. The theory of "domestic environmentalism" held that the home had a formative impact upon the development of character. Thus, a fashionable parlor could pose a great threat to middle-class republican virtue. Only by cultivating "sincerity" in both furnishing and manners could middle-class Ameri-

cans avoid the dangers of fashion and achieve domestic "comfort." Yet, when innovations designed to increase *bodily* comfort, including overstuffed and spring-seat upholstery, became popular, domestic advisors warned that these objects might lead to a dangerous relaxation of self-control. These furnishings, Grier notes, were hardly comfortable in the modern sense, but some pieces (including newly popular "lounges") did invite a relaxation of posture. In any case, middle-class women were largely unable to fully enjoy any comfort promised by the new furniture. Ironically, as parlor furnishings became more comfortable, women's corsets became longer and more constrictive.

Although a parlor ideally fused the ideals of culture and comfort, the concept of "refinement" also influenced consumers' ideas about appropriate parlor furnishings and manners. Grier argues that for Victorian-era Americans, the concept of refinement represented the advancement of human civilization, viewed "in terms of progress inside the middle-class home"(154). Refinement could be expressed in many ways, through "visually intricate" design, specialized objects, "softened" surfaces, and "polished" manners. People with refined manners paid attention to social details and the nuances of politeness, "including the competent use of highly specialized domestic artifacts," such as window chairs or special-use flatware (157). By "softening" a room with drapery, the middle class provided "a metaphor for the softening of civility" (163). Visual intricacy in texture and design also signaled cultivation and refinement. The development of photography and woodcut engraved illustrations in catalogs furthered this trend toward visual intricacy by allowing consumers to see the details of the furnishings they wished to purchase.

By the latter half of the 1890s, parlor-making came within the reach of small farmers and working-class families, as cheaper parlor suites and installment purchasing became available. Although matching parlor suites had become less fashionable, they still remained popular, thanks to these new markets and the conservative tastes of many families. But by the beginning of the twentieth century, ideas about culture and comfort had begun to change. Comfort came to imply a relaxation of the older regulations upon behavior. "Living rooms" increasingly replaced parlors in new homes, and in many cases these rooms were not physically separated from other areas of the house. A living room could now express the "personality" of a family, much as a parlor had expressed its "character." After 1910 many families shifted their spending priorities away from parlor furnishings toward automobiles.

Overall, Grier provides an excellent treatment of the symbolic meaning of parlor furnishings. Yet, for a book that focuses on such an obviously "feminine" realm, there is surprisingly little discussion of the way in which gender influenced the process of furniture selection and design. Most domestic advice was obviously aimed at and read by middle-class women. But Grier provides virtu-

ally no evidence of how women interpreted the messages they received from these manuals. Similarly, while the concepts of "refinement" and the "sensibility of softening" as she describes them have highly gendered connotations, she chooses to treat them more broadly as "middle-class" ideals. Even the ideals of "culture and comfort" themselves imply a merging of public and private (the masculine world and feminine home) into the parlor. Perhaps Grier felt that the literature on gender and domesticity had already done justice to these issues; it is difficult to tell.

These criticisms aside, Grier provides a superb introduction to the material world of the Victorian parlor and by extension, to middle-class culture in general. Those who enjoyed her first version should find this abridgment a satisfying replacement, and new readers will find that it challenges them to think about late nineteenth-century material culture in new ways.

Amy Patterson
University of California, Davis

Character Is Capital: Success Manuals and Manhood in Gilded Age America. By Judy Hilkey. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1997. 219 pages. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. $39.95 cloth, $17.95 paper).

Although a number of works on the ideals of success and the self-made man in America have been written, Hilkey's is the first study of a key artifact of this ideology, the success manual. She argues that "the success manual's linguistic and symbolic equation of success and manhood is essential to understanding the American ideology of success" (3). Hilkey's study is a welcome addition to the growing body of monographs on the history of manhood and ideals of success. Hilkey's investigation of the success manual as a genre provides important insights into how success writers attempted to reconcile the values of pre-industrial, small town, rural America with a nascent corporate capitalism by casting success in a language of character and manhood. She argues that "success writers defined character and manhood not only as the means to success, but as success itself, a nonpecuniary notion of success in which the 'worthy' . . . might be joined together in a common set of beliefs of what it meant to be a man and what it meant to be a success." Concomitantly, Hilkey asserts, "this definition of success . . . equated success and manhood in a way dependent on the corollary equation of failure with the feminine" (5).

In the process, these writers not only redefined the meaning of success, but also recast ideals of middle-class manhood. "This new economic man," Hilkey writes, "would identify his interests with the dominant social and economic order and voluntarily conduct himself in ways that were consistent with its triumph in the hopes of sharing some of its bounty." Success writers, Hilkey states,

"laid the foundation for a new model of manhood that paradoxically lacked both the fierce individualism of the entrepreneurial model of manhood and the militance and solidarity of labor's notion of manhood" (154).

This new man, though, was not emasculated. Quite the contrary. Success manuals "linked symbolically the drive to achieve in the economic sphere with male libido and conquest and combat" (146). While the ability to control and restrain one's sexual impulses as key to a man's success seems to suggest Victorian repression, Hilkey also points out that "far from denying male sexuality, success writers, covertly, perhaps unwittingly, acknowledged it and built it into their prescription for success." Success writers encouraged their readers to channel sexual impulses into "economically productive energy" (150). The possession of a type of manhood, rooted in notions of self-control, offered a nonpecuniary form of success that was virtually limitless.

Here, success manuals seem to have anticipated or paved the way for a culture of abundance, associated with ideals of personality and the emergence of a consumer culture. Hilkey states that success manuals "clued readers in to the fact that in a society that lacked rigid class distinctions, personal conduct and manners were important ways of distinguishing oneself" (137). Many success writers published into the 1920s, now emphasizing "masterful personality," the title of a 1921 publication by the renowned success writer Orison Swett Marden, listed in Hilkey's bibliography. It is unfortunate that Hilkey cut her analysis short in 1910. Extending her analysis into the 1920s might have enabled her to cast light on the transition from an ideal of character to an ideal of personality in American culture.

This is not the only missed opportunity in an overall important book. Hilkey only briefly discusses the role of concepts of ethnicity and race in the success manual. She states that "the foreign born . . . were associated with radicalism and with the lazy, spendthrift ways of the irresolute" (23). A deeper exploration of connections between gendered ideals of success and failure with concepts of race and ethnicity might have provided additional insights.

Such reservations notwithstanding, Hilkey's book is a significant contribution to debates on ideals of success and manhood in America. Everyone interested in American cultural history, literary history, gender, ideals of success in American culture, and Gilded Age America will want to take notice of this important book.

Thomas Winter
University of Cincinnati

Saratoga: Turning Point of America's Revolutionary War. By Richard M. Ketchum. (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1997. 557 pages. Illustrations, bibliography, notes, index. $30.00.)

Nowhere is the gap between public taste and academic fashion so great as in

the field of military history. While shelves at the local super bookstores groan under accounts of men at war, the two-decades-old complaint of a leading historian of the Revolution that military historians "have generally been preoccupied with recounting military operations and assessing generalship" rather than considering the impact of war on society continues to be echoed in the universities. Richard M. Ketchum's beautifully written account of the Saratoga campaign does not bridge this gap, but it does give some indication of how it might be done.

Unlike many military historians, Ketchum often seems more concerned with describing eighteenth-century life than with assessing strategy and generals. Particularly in the early sections, he offers lyrical descriptions of late-eighteenth-century New York City and of the countryside north of it. Ketchum perceptively describes this northern region as a frontier. But when he writes that "life was no different here than from any other frontier," he overlooks the fact that the conjunction of Yankees, Yorkers, English Canadians, and French Canadians, not to mention Native Americans, also made this frontier a unique one. More exploration of this uniqueness might have added another layer to this otherwise fine description.

Even when he brings himself to the battlefield, Ketchum is careful not to focus only on generals. Having read an impressive array of diaries, journals, letters, and other accounts by ordinary soldiers and civilians as well as officers, Ketchum is able to tell his story from multiple perspectives. At times, most notably in his account of the battle of Bennington, this technique works wonderfully well. By telling this story from the perspective of numerous enlisted soldiers, as well as a colorful German surgeon, Ketchum is able to capture the varied and frenetic activity of battle. He also shows in passing how, like many other Revolutionary battles, this one pitted neighbor against neighbor, as in the case of the Loyalist who suddenly found himself being bayoneted by "an old schoolmate and playfellow, and a cousin of my wife" (312).

But at other times Ketchum's technique falls short. His desire to give background information on as many people and places as possible sometimes leads to digressions that break the narrative flow, creating 450 pages of text to cover a campaign that lasted less than a year. In addition, frequent cutting between characters and scenes sometimes leads to chronological confusion, particularly in the early chapters.

But it is Ketchum's lack of analytical attention to larger historical questions that will disappoint academics. Despite the book's subtitle, the author offers surprisingly little consideration of how these events fit into the larger context of the war. More importantly, despite his efforts to include the viewpoints of all sorts of soldiers, Ketchum offers no new insights into the crucial question of the Revolution—the motivation of those who fought it.

In a sense, however, these criticisms are unfair, for Ketchum cannot be expected single-handedly to bridge the gap between popular military history and academic concerns. What he has done, with much success, is to provide a well-researched narrative account of an important battle and a vivid portrait of a place and time.

Lawrence A. Peskin
University of Maryland

A Mythic Land Apart: Reassessing Southerners and Their History. Edited by John David Smith and Thomas H. Appleton Jr. (Contributions in American History, Number 173. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1997. 203 pages. Index. $57.95.)

Professor Charles P. Roland, longtime professor at the University of Kentucky, has been one of the most influential and gentlemanly historians of the American South and of the Civil War. Possessed of considerable common sense as well as uncommon sensitivity, he has quietly shaped the thinking of many of us. One can only applaud the decision of his doctoral students to offer him this festschrift.

As often is the case with such collections, the editors' attempt to fit the several essays into a common interpretative framework fails. In their introduction, John David Smith and Thomas H. Appleton claimed that each of their authors "shares his belief in southern distinctiveness" (3). Doubtless this is true, but this belief hardly appears in the essays; in fact, they offer much support for the "Americaness" of the South, something that Dwayne Cox makes explicit in the conclusion to his essay "Medical Education in the South: The Case of Louisville, 1837–1910." Much as Cox reveals that nineteenth-century medical education in the South was closer to that in the North than stereotypes suggest, Appleton's portraits of alcohol reform in Kentucky, "'Moral Suasion Has Had Its Day': From Temperance to Prohibition in Antebellum Kentucky," demonstrates that the strength of temperance in the South was stronger than alcohol historians are prone to admit, and that the reform movement there followed the same path from temperance to abstinence to efforts to criminalize alcohol that the rest of the nation saw. Richard C. Smoot's intriguing article "The Gavel and the Sword; Experiences Shaping the Life of John Sherman Cooper," which I hope is a sketch for a full-length biography, shows that the Kentucky Republican would be better described as a border state figure than a Southern one.

Roland has spent the bulk of his teaching career in Kentucky, and it is not surprising that in three of the nine essays, the "South" proves to be that border state and that one of the principal concerns of a fourth is a Kentuckian. Another border state, Maryland, appears in the book not at all. Only two essays discuss

the South as a whole—John David Smith's insightful "'No negro is upon the program': Blacks and the Montgomery Race Conference of 1900," and Donald E. Reynolds's splendid "The Slave Insurrection Panic of 1860 and Southern Secession"—while Roger A. Fischer's "Hollywood and the Mythic Land Apart, 1988–1991," a pedestrian supplement to Jack Temple Kirby's seminal *Media-Made Dixie: The South in the American Imagination* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1978) discusses the portrayal of those parts of the South that Fischer regards as Southern in recent movies that he regards as significant.

Jason H. Silverman's "The Immigrant Influence in the Colonial South: The Case of Philip Mazzei" is a case study of immigrant influence only the way an article entitled "The Immigrant Influence on the Middle Colonies: The Case of Thomas Paine" would be; both Paine and Mazzei played roles in the still inadequately studied international revolutionary movement of the late eighteenth century, and Benjamin Franklin encouraged both of them to come to British North America. Once again, I can only hope that this exemplary article is a teaser for a proper biography.

Carol Reardon's "Lessons in Generalship: Robert E. Lee's Military Legacy for the Twenty-First Century" contains no discussion of Lee's "Southerness"; Lee might as well have fought in Outer Mongolia or the desert wastes of Utah. Nonetheless, it is a profoundly illuminating article from a scholar who has joined Jay Luvaas as one of the principle interpreters of the Civil War's military legacy. Finally, Melba Porter Hay's "Compromiser or Conspirator? Henry Clay and the Graves-Cilley Duel" wonderfully portrays the 1830s, where party lines were as important as sectional loyalties, and Northerners still fought duels.

Most likely, this book will not be read as a whole, but its individual articles will be consulted by scholars interested in their narrow subject matter. These may be the inevitable fate of all festschrifts. Given Charles P. Roland's generosity of spirit and undogmatic cast of mind, his students have served him well by presenting us with top-notch independent scholarship.

Reid Mitchell
University of Maryland Baltimore County

New Worlds for All: Indians, Europeans, and the Remaking of Early America. By Colin G. Calloway. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997. 250 pages. Bibliographic essay, index. $24.95.)

"In 1491," Colin G. Calloway writes at the beginning of his new book, "the world stood on the brink of a new era. The old world, in both Europe and America, was about to end" (xiii). The result, as his title declares, would be "New Worlds for All." What is striking is how well Calloway backs up this bold claim. Writing with a focus on contact, he carefully weighs ratios of change. Capturing the color

of old-fashioned frontier history without reproducing its ethnocentrism, he delivers a narrative that is a joy to read, jam-packed with choice quotations and apt examples. If not perfect, Calloway's is far and away one of the best ethnohistories ever written.

In nine thematically organized chapters, Calloway traces symmetries and asymmetries in how Indians and Europeans responded to their "new worlds." Brought together by love, politics, and exchange, Indians and Europeans came in some ways to resemble each other. "As European colonists living in or near Indian country pulled on Indian moccasins, leggings, and hunting shirts, Indian people living near colonial settlements acquired shirts and jackets, trousers and shoes" (66). Cross-cultural understandings emerged (131).

Yet, if mutuality colored some aspects of contact in early America, large asymmetries in population and power skewed things in favor of European settlers. Calloway chronicles how diseases devastated native nations. He discusses Europeans' reluctance to embrace native architectural traditions, gender equality, social egalitarianism, and religious visions. There was "linguistic hybridization and change in both directions, but it was not fifty-fifty" (172). In sum, *New Worlds for All* is a history not just of contact, but of conquest. Middle grounds suffered as Europeans gained power; they died soon after Americans created their own nation-state and determined to pursue Indian land, not Indian trade.

A rich book filled with colorful details artfully arranged in a coherent argument, *New Worlds for All* owes much to other works. In the last two decades, ethnohistorians such as James Merrell, Richard White, Gregory Dowd, Thomas Hatley, Daniel Usner and others have produced superb works. *New Worlds for All* synthesizes the works of many scholars, providing non-specialists with excellent access to many of the field's best insights. As a synthesis, however, it also mirrors an overall weakness of the field: Ethnohistorians have yet to pay enough attention to the ways women transformed contact history and were transformed by it. In Calloway's book, Indian gender roles are discussed, but we read much more about changes in male hunting and diplomacy than female horticulture and childrearing.

Other weaknesses include and derive from a regional bias. Calloway's expertise is in British-Indian relations, the American Revolution, and the Abenakis of Vermont. This shows. He develops his argument primarily with reference to contact history in the eastern woodlands. To be sure, western peoples appear, but not as frequently or with as much detail and individuation as that given to folks such as the Iroquois and the Puritans. While this weighting may appeal to readers of this journal (along with the cover of the book—Edward Leutze's *The Founding of Maryland*), readers should be aware that Calloway's history does not deliver the whole story of new world contact. That fact is signaled in the subtitle, which includes Europeans and Indians, but leaves out Africans. Sure enough,

the book does not consider contact between Indians and Africans or examine how Europeans in the South sought to control these interactions. This is unfortunate. By including African Americans more fully, Calloway would have strengthened his central contention and bolstered his claim that contact and conquest produced new worlds for *all.*

Indeed, it seems Calloway is at times too conservative with his own thesis. In "A World of Dreams and Bibles," he assumes to readily that "the direction of religious change in North America was decidedly unilinear" (90) from Europeans to Indians. But evidence, some of it in Calloway's own book, suggests otherwise, that the religious symbol systems of Europeans changed in contact. For example, in the chapter on warfare, he relates how Puritans equated the Pequot massacre with "a sweete sacrifice" (98); invoke the biblical meaning of that term, they changed its meaning to fit their "wilderness" context. Elsewhere, Calloway mentions that captivity narratives were a major colonial genre. This genre, if should be noted, was designed to teach faith (155). As these examples suggest, contact changed profoundly how Europeans in America found their religious meaning. While they did not convert to Indian religions, they did increasingly define their religious identity through contrast with Indian others. Non-native New Englanders, for example, reinterpreted the Exodus story so that they became the Chosen People entering a promised land, and Indians became the Canaanites destined to be vanquished by providential armies. Just as surely as Indians who appropriated Jesus as a new hunting magic (73) had entered a new religious world, so had Europeans. In the context defined by contact and colonialism, new myths arose and old ones transmuted.

Readers interested in European cultural and ritual responses to contact with Indians will do well to consult another new book, Philip Deloria's *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998). It provides a useful corrective to Calloway's book even as it confirms Calloway's main thesis that the New World experience produced "new worlds for all."

Joel W. Martin
Franklin and Marshall College

Books in Brief

First published in hardcover in 1985, *Maryland Wits & Baltimore Bards: A Literary History* has been newly released in paperback. Local historian Frank R. Shivers Jr. explores the contributions made to American letters by such contemporary writers as John Barth, Anne Tyler, and Russell Baker, and observes the influence of Chesapeake culture. The well-researched and entertaining study also includes selections from early twentieth-century writers F. Scott Fitzgerald, Gertrude Stein, and John Dos Passos.

The Johns Hopkins University Press, $14.95 paper

Drawing from a selection of papers presented at the 1991 Society for Historical Archaeology meetings in Richmond, Virginia, editors Paul A. Shackel, Paul R. Mullins, and Mark S. Warner have produced *Annapolis Pasts: Historical Archaeology in Annapolis, Maryland.*

The editors bring to the book expertise in the fields of anthropology and sociology as they seek to explore how broad historical issues such as class structure and racism are manifested in everyday material culture. Following current academic trends, the researchers have sought to uncover the lives of everyday people rather than focusing on the accounts of the ruling elite. One article, for example, examines the street plan of State Circle to explore socially hierarchical relationships.

Much of the research was sponsored by the Archaeology in Annapolis Project. It includes exploring land use in areas such as print shops and butchering sites, essays on the African-American community in colonial Annapolis, and early trade. The essays are accompanied by numerous figures, maps, and tables.

The University of Tennessee Press, $50.00 cloth

An exhaustive engineering history of the steam locomotive has been re-issued in revised and expanded form. *American Locomotives: An Engineering History, 1830–1880*, by John H. White Jr., features an additional ninety-two pages and forty-five detailed illustrations in this definitive reference work. Well-documented and exhaustively compiled, the text is divided into sections on locomotive design, components, and representative American locomotives.

The Johns Hopkins University Press, $49.95 cloth

D.B.S.

MHS Book Notes

Builders of Annapolis: Enterprise and Politics in a Colonial Capitol. By Norman K. Risjord (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1998. 216 pages. Illustrations, maps, timeline, index. $18.95 paper.)

Maryland's second colonial capitol attracted powerful and talented people to its once quiet banks on the Severn River in the closing years of the seventeenth century. Politicians, lawyers, and artisans whose fortunes, families, and reputations rose and fell over the next hundred years left political and cultural legacies that endure to this day. Norman K. Risjord, Thomas Jefferson scholar and acclaimed author of the "Representative Americans" series uses his biographical skills to sketch the personal and public histories of the Annapolitans who made their city "one of the most sparkling communities in British America (xx)."

Risjord opens the work with a broad account of life on the tobacco coast. Producing and marketing the demanding staple crop kept Marylanders on the waterways and inhibited town growth for the colony's first sixty years. When King William revoked Maryland's charter after the 1689 Glorious Revolution the new political leaders moved the capitol to Annapolis. Within ten years the assembly elected the men who became the colonial and revolutionary elite. Their stories, and those of artisans who built and defined their world are the basis of this book.

The nine accounts in this volume include Governor Francis Nicholson, a career military leader in Britain's imperial service who carried John Evelyn's baroque designs to the new capitol and built a city. Patrick Creagh's story is told as a native-born merchant-shipbuilder whose house and Assembly-commissioned Old Treasury still stand and whose ships sailed with the British fleet in King George's War. The author also presents Daniel Dulany, the Carroll family, Samuel Chase and the Pacas, and artisans John Shaw and Jonas and Catherine Green. He offers these portraits to illustrate life in colonial Annapolis and to guide the reader to the architectural legacies still standing after two hundred years.

P.D.A.

Notices

Undergraduate Essay Contest

The Education Committee of the Maryland Historical Society announces the annual College Undergraduate Essay Contest. Papers must be on a Maryland subject and make use of primary sources. Deadline for submissions is June 15, 1998. Please send entries to the Education Department, Maryland Historical Society, 201 West Monument Street, Baltimore, Maryland, 21201. The winner will receive the $250 Eisenberg Essay Prize, which is funded by Gerson G. Eisenberg, local author, philanthropist, historian, and long-time member of the MHS Education Committee.

Decoy, Wildlife Art, and Sportsman Festival

The Havre de Grace Decoy Museum will be hosting the 17th annual festival May 1–3. The festival will feature 250 decoy and wildlife art exhibitors, live and silent auctions, and a raffle drawing. Retriever and battery gun demonstrations will be held throughout the weekend on the grounds of the Decoy Museum. Admission per day is $5.00; a weekend pass is $8.00. Hours are Friday 6 P.M. – 9 P.M., Saturday 9 A.M. – 5 P.M., and Sunday 9 A.M. – 4 P.M. Free parking and shuttle bus transportation is available. The museum is accessible to the handicapped. For more information phone 410-939-3739.

New History Journal Released

The Towson University history department has announced publication of *The Towson University Journal of Historical Studies.* The yearly journal will be published under the direction of the Department of History with the cooperation of the Theta Beta chapter of the Phi Alpha Theta history honors society. Faculty advisor Dr. Karl Larew and editor Shannon Stevens welcome papers from all Towson history majors, past and present. Papers submitted for publication will be subject to faculty review. The journal is available free of charge from the history department. For more information, call 410-830-2923.

Chesapeake Bay Maritime Museum Events

The weathered sailing vessels of the Chesapeake Bay watermen are not so plain as one might suppose. Many of these workboats are actually adorned with elaborate wooden carvings depicting everything from gilded eagles to fierce sword-bear-

ing women intended in earlier times to appease sea deities or to frighten enemies. These carvings are featured in "Monsters, Myths, & Maidens: Watermen and Their Workboat Carvings," which will open June 5 at the Chesapeake Bay Maritime Museum in St. Michaels, Maryland.

An evening of Big Band music of the 1930s and 1940s will take place from 7 – 10 P.M. on Saturday, July 4. Food and beverages will be available. A fireworks display sponsored by the Miles River Yacht Club will take place at dusk. Admission is $3.00 for members and $6.00 for non-members; children will be admitted free of charge. The address of the museum is P.O. Box 636, Mill Street, St. Michaels, MD, 21663. For information, call 410-745-2916.

1998 Decorator Show House

The Historical Society of Talbot County will be presenting its 1998 show house at Perry Hall, one of Maryland's most picturesque estates. Located on the Miles River, three miles south of St. Michaels, the eighteenth-century manor house and gardens will be open from May 30 through July 5. Admission will be $12.00 before May 29, and $15.00 at the door. For more information, call 410-822-0773.

War of 1812 Reenactment Planned

The Jefferson-Patterson Park and Museum of St. Leonard, Maryland, will sponsor a military reenactment on July 11. Actors will portray the soldiers and sailors of the War of 1812. For more information, call Susan Kenney at 410-586-8501.

Snow Hill Calendar of Events

An archaeological dig open to the public and an old-fashioned county fair are among the events taking place in the Snow Hill area, which includes Furnace Town Historic Site and the Mt. Zion One-Room Schoolhouse Museum. In the Archaeology Public Dig Series, volunteers will train and dig under the supervision of professionals in shallow pits at the site of an early nineteenth-century building. Pre-registration (at least forty-eight hours in advance) is required. The sites will be open from 1 – 4 P.M., and the dig fee is $5.00. The scheduled dates are: May 10, June 7, June 28, July 12, and August 16. Other dates will be announced in the fall. Later in the summer, the Worcester County Fair will be held August 7 – 9 and will feature craft and livestock exhibits. For additional information, contact Kathy Fisher of the Furnace Town Foundation, at 410-632-2032.

D.B.S.

Maryland Picture Puzzle

We thought we had stumped everyone with the last issue's puzzle until a last-minute entry came in with the right answer. Congratulations to Mark Trunk, for the lovely "lady" pictured was indeed Harry Lehr, the toast of Baltimore's Paint and Powder Club in 1895. To find out more about Harry's career as a wit and socialite, consult John Dorsey's *Mount Vernon Place.* Jane Roycroft James earns three-quarters credit for knowing all the essential information except Harry's last name.

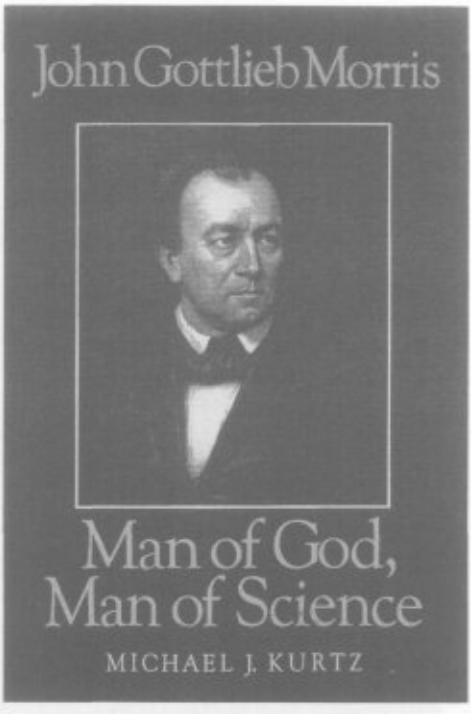
This issue's puzzle is the Howard County home of a well-known Marylander of the nineteenth century.

New from the Maryland Historical Society!

A superb biography of an American religious and cultural leader and patriot

JOHN GOTTLIEB MORRIS: Man of God, Man of Science

By Michael J. Kurtz



Writer, lecturer, educator, churchman, scientist—John Gottlieb Morris's long, productive, and extraordinarily productive life mirrors the volatility and vitality of American culture from the early national period to the end of the 19th century. Morris played a key role in the development and direction of the American Lutheran Church and led the movement from German-language liturgy to English. He created the libraries of the Peabody Institute and the Maryland Historical Society, founded the Lutherville Female Seiminary (and the town of Lutherville), and was a major figure at Gettysburg College. Morris pioneered natural science in America and contributed significantly to the development of outstanding natural history collections, including the Smithsonian Institution's, and as an historian sustained for decades the Lutheran Historical Society and the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland.

Michael J. Kurtz is assistant archivist of the National Archives and a resident of Annapolis.

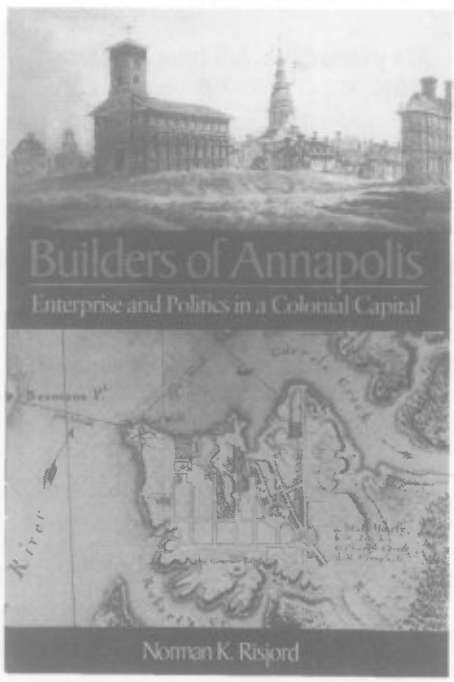
6 x 9, 216 pages, paper. Illustrations
ISBN 0-938420-58-5
$20.00

New from the Maryland Historical Society!

BUILDERS OF ANNAPOLIS

Enterprise and Politics in a Colonial Capital

By Norman K. Risjord



In 1700 Maryland's new capital at Annapolis was a hamlet in a wilderness whose shoreline looked, according to one new arrival, "like a forest standing in water." By the middle of the eighteenth century a remarkable collection of men and women had made it into "one of the most sparkling communities in British America."

So writes Norman K. Risjord, professor emeritus at the University of Wisconsin–Madison, Jefferson scholar, prolific writer, and dynamic lecturer who makes his home part of the year in Annapolis. With a clear eye, engaging style, and gentle sense of humor, Risjord gives us colorful portraits of the men and women who built Annapolis—and Maryland—and a sense of the young town's, bustle, intrigue, and creativity. As Risjord delightedly observes, much of that legacy remains today in the Annapolis's historic buildings. A good read, a perfect gift, and a lively introduction to the wonders of Maryland's charming capital.

6 x 9, 216 pages. Illustrations, timeline, index.
ISBN 0-938420-61-5
Original paperback, $18.95

Letters to the Editor are welcome. Letters should be as brief as possible. Address Editor's Mail, *Maryland Historical Magazine,* 201 West Monument Street, Baltimore, Maryland, 21201. Include name, address, and daytime telephone number. Letters may be edited for clarity and space.

The *Maryland Historical Magazine* welcomes submissions from authors. All articles will be acknowledged, but only those accompanied by a stamped, self-addressed envelope will be returned. Submissions should be printed or typed manuscript. Once accepted, articles should be on 3.5-inch (preferably) or 5.25-inch disks for IBM (or compatible) PCs or Macintosh. Preferred word-processing programs are Wordperfect or Microsoft Word. Guidelines for contributors are available on request. Address the Managing Editor.

In this issue . . .

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY 1844

The Journal of the Maryland Historical Soc